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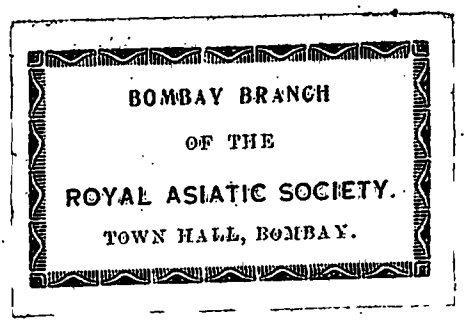

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MEMOIRS

OF

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

VOL. II.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRIVATE AND POLITICAL LIFE

OF

LUCIEN BONAPARTE,

Prince of Canino.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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ac

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ.
Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis!
ÆNEIDOS, l. x.

VOL. II.

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SECRET MEMOIRS

OF

LUCIEN BUONAPARTE.

While Lucien was thus occupied, very different cares engrossed the attention of Napoleon, who had during his brother's visit to Lucca, consummated the iniquity previously begun at Rome. It was now fifteen months since the Pope had been subjected to every species of indignity: all the public institutions were virtually destroyed; the colleges and tribunals suspended; the posts confided to French agents; and the press shackled in such a manner, that the sovereign could not communicate with his people, or the pontiff with his church. It was only by infinite

pains, and adopting the greatest precautions, that those prelates, who were still permitted to remain near the Pope's person, could conceal the monitories signed at Montecavallo during this unheard of persecution, from the inquisitorial research of his enemies; and woe to any one who they could accuse of serving his holiness in this way! It was even dangerous to be suspected of such a crime. Cardinals, bishops, and priests were cruelly exiled, imprisoned, or stripped of their revenues upon the slightest pretences; and while this period of suffering continued, the French troops were frequently drawn up in a menacing attitude before the Quirinal. These were idle demonstrations, no doubt, but they had the effect of alarming the people, who were thus induced tamely to support the numerous insults heaped upon their venerable and virtuous sovereign. When it was at length known to Buonaparte, that the pontiff had suffered the long protracted excommunica-

tion to escape his lips, orders were given to close the tedious drama. The holy father, being advised that the enemy intended to lay violent hands on his person during the night, strictly charged his attendants to make no resistance whatever, and merely directed that all the outlets of the palace, even to the window shutters, should be carefully closed. The object of these ineffectual precautions was that of fixing the crime of his persecutors, so as to prevent the possibility of evasion on their part. Pursuant to the information received, Radet, the general of gendarmerie, accompanied by a body of his myrmidons, came to the Quirinal an hour after midnight, and entered the palace through one of the windows which his men had forced open. On gaining the apartment of his holiness, the latter was found dressed and perfectly calm: having tranquilly listened to the order of Radet, and implied his assent by an inclination of the head, the holy father rose and quietly

walked towards the stair-case, which he descended with the utmost composure. Radet having assisted him to step into a carriage which stood at the door, and permitted two ecclesiastics to accompany the pontiff, locked the door, mounted the front seat outside, and then ordered the postilion to drive off; continuing to perform the office of gaoler to this moving prison until its arrival at Savona.

It is unnecessary to detail the subsequent treatment of his holiness, from the long detention at that place, and subsequent confinement at Fontainebleau, to his being finally delivered by his persecutor, when the thunder had reached the latter, in such a way as to render his power over the pontiff no longer useful to the success of those designs which had hitherto enabled him to enslave Europe. As might naturally be expected, the removal of Pius VII. created a great sensation throughout all his provinces, and excited feelings of the most poignant regret amongst

the clergy and people, who had preserved their allegiance untainted by French principles. The last named class was principally composed of artists, lawyers, and young men, whose dissolute and depraved habits made it extremely doubtful whether they possessed principles of any kind. Characters of this description were prepared for any change that opened a field either to their avarice, ambition, or love of plunder: it need not, therefore, be matter of surprize, if they applauded, rather than condemned the late act of violence. The nobles, who witnessed the scene in passive silence, did not remain long, without feeling the effects of that power, which, by an irresistible fatality, now seemed to involve the concerns of all Europe.

Soon after his departure, those provinces which had been nominally left to the Papal government, were formally declared to constitute a part of the great empire, and Rome

its second city. Proper officers were consequently sent, to organize every part of the administration on the French model: some Piedmontese civilians, and a few others from Genoa, who had gone through a similar routine in their own country, were associated with the natives in re-composing the tribunals. Two more departments, that of the Tiber and Thrasimena, were named. Jeannet was appointed to superintend the finances, and together with Delpozzo and Gerando, formed the *consulta*, or council of government, at which Count Miollis, lieutenant of the governor general, presided. All these changes proceeded with the utmost rapidity, and were prompted by that kind of confidence which force generally inspires. As to former habits, precedents, or public opinion, they were not very likely to have any share in the new arrangements: these never influenced Napoleon. The very first month of the new era, was signalized

by abolishing religious vows, and sending the professed orders back to society. It should, however, be added, that all those of both sexes who were thus sent out of the convents, received pensions according to their respective claims. The conscription was also put in force, and caused the misery of those peaceable inhabitants; who, till then, had never heard any other drum but that of the public crier. It now tore the weeping mother from her son, consigning thousands to a premature and melancholy grave. In order to render the Corsican tyranny somewhat more palatable, recourse was had to popular feasts and entertainments: to those of Rome already in practice, several others were imported from France, and every effort made to give the latter an appearance of splendor; an occasional distribution of alms, the establishment of some poor-houses, employing a number of workmen in clearing away the rubbish which had accumulated

round the ruins, considerably diminished the public distress, which a revolution like the present might have otherwise created; while it contributed very materially to insure the tranquillity of the capital, upon which that of the whole country chiefly depended.

In alluding to the above innovations, it cannot be denied that the Roman police regulations gained very considerably by the new order of things: lamps were suspended in the principal streets, nightly robberies and assassinations, which the French authorities had purposely suffered to pass with comparative impunity during the preceding three months, merely to bring odium on the pontiff's government, which was at the same time deprived of its coercive power, now became extremely rare; the streets were also kept much cleaner than formerly, and many useful public works undertaken. It was ever the grand secret of French policy to make an ostentatious show of munificence in this way, as it enabled the

government to cover those designs which were afterwards destined to make the conquered countries pay so dearly for them.

Buonaparte never omitted receiving the incense of all those whom he had successfully subjected to his iron sway: it was now the turn of the Romans to follow the example of their predecessors in slavery. Deputations were therefore commanded, and the Duke de Braschi, nephew of Pius VI. the last pope, who had been almost forced to accept the office of mayor, departed at the head of both deputations, one from the municipal body, and another of the nobles. Having exhausted the ceremony of bowing and scraping, making fulsome speeches, &c. the deputies were allowed to enter into a limited discussion of public affairs: these were not long on the carpet, before it was discovered, to the no small surprize of the whole party, that there was a project on foot considerably to increase the duties of entry at the gates of Rome: this

excited bitter complaints, all endeavoured to convince the usurper and his ministers, that the people were already extremely poor, and must be made still more wretched, if the proposed impost was carried into effect. The Duke de Braschi even ventured to address the emperor himself on the subject, when the latter answered by exclaiming, "Tut, tut, man! You know nothing of public affairs. Your city must be rich, and I wish it to expend two millions annually in public works and monuments. You will thank me when I have enabled it to do that,—and be assured, such a tax will eventually become a source of happiness to the people." Although the new tax was gathered, we doubt whether it made the Romans happier.

But we have been anticipating events, and must therefore return to the object of our memoirs. The senator foresaw the last great act of violence, which was to drag his holiness from the chair of St. Peter, and trem-

bled for the event long before it occurred. On returning to Canino towards the winter of 1810, he received more pressing demands for the children of his first marriage to be sent to Paris; and having duly considered the subject, at length consented, on condition, however, that the eldest should be placed under the immediate care of Madame Letitia; but many people conjectured that an important event would shortly follow that young lady's arrival in the French capital. The question of divorce was now talked of, and for the first time with a certainty of taking place: and Madame Letitia, together with others of the family, as well as some of Buonaparte's most confidential advisers, conceived that a young niece would be sure of pleasing the all-powerful uncle. It even appeared that some words dropped by the emperor, and propositions made on the subject, gave strength to their opinion. It was spoken of at Paris, and soon found its way to Rome

and Naples. As to Lucien, he was silent, though it could be easily seen that he also had his hopes.

The above marriage did not appear altogether impolitic. France had now become formidable to all Europe, and just succeeded in humbling Austria for the third time: it had, therefore no need of family alliances, (which are always precarious) to secure its newly acquired preponderance and power. The emperor must, however, have naturally concluded that the potentate whom he obliged to become his father-in-law, would only yield to it from necessity; and that such an alliance could only serve to revive feelings of regret at past losses, and awaken sentiments of hatred towards the cause of them. On the other hand, in selecting a wife from his own family, Napoleon felt that no umbrage could be given to the powers with whom he was on terms of amity, as to any undue preference; so that by continuing to influence

their political decisions, he would reduce none to the alternative of recurring to counter alliances, for the purpose of weakening the ties of a marriage which added to the power he had already obtained in Europe. In France people were familiarized to the elevation of the Buonapartes: an empress of their insulated stock, could not have been the less respected on that account; but this policy, however wise in itself, did not suit the ideas of Napoleon: and Lucien, who had so much reason to know the man, seemed to deceive himself as to the pride of the conqueror. What a triumphant source of enjoyment, in fact, for a person of Buonaparte's inflated vanity, to have the means of chusing a wife from the highest reigning families in Europe, and destroy, as it were, the greatness of ages in favour of that throne, which his fortune, so fatal to mankind, had enabled him to occupy! The report of a family match did not therefore bear up long against

those well known reflections of the emperor, but was shortly succeeded by others equally chimerical: a Grand Duchess of Russia, and Princess of Saxony, were amongst the number of wives allotted to Napoleon, when it was suddenly discovered that he had determined to impose the painful sacrifice on Austria.

If we examine the cause which had hitherto prevented the public from thinking of an Arch-duchess, it will doubtless be found in a very general opinion that the peace of Presbourg was merely considered as a short truce, in the secret thoughts of Buonaparte; and that he had not renounced the project of destroying the throne of the Cæsars altogether: to this may be added, that species of religious dread and natural horror, inspired by the idea of seeing a young princess torn from the arms of her family, to sit on a throne recently covered with the blood of her ill-fated relative.

Napoleon was the first person to notify this alliance to his privy council. After having proposed that it should deliberate on the relative advantages of selecting a wife from the different royal families of continental Europe, and seeing that no one attempted to give an opinion as to the court of Vienna—" I see," said Buonaparte, " that you were not present at the battle of Wagram, and have no idea of the house of Austria's power. I dare say I shall be able to make head against it; but after my time, how dangerous for France to become its enemy! I have therefore resolved closely to unite the two crowns. The Archduchess, eldest daughter of the Emperor, has been demanded, and his Imperial Majesty's consent is given." It will be readily conceived that the pliant counsellors did not withhold their approbation of the measure thus communicated, or spare their habitual incense in favour of the political foresight

which marked this sublime conception of their great master.

In the mean time, Mademoiselle Charlotte Buonaparte, in whose eyes the imperial crown had glittered for a short interval, was presented to the court of Napoleon. When, at the first interview, this young lady knelt, the emperor said, "Get up, princess, and embrace your uncle;" she was thenceforth recognized. All her relatives, most of whom were in the capital, vied with each other in giving parties on her account, and paying various other marks of attention to the newly installed princess. This must have afforded an agreeable contrast to the dullness of Madame Letitia's society; but the charm did not last long. Both Lucien and his wife, had, previous to her leaving Italy, settled that their daughter should regularly inform them of all that happened, and what she thought of her new situation; very inconsiderately

supposing that to insure the secrecy of this correspondence, it would be merely necessary to give the letters carefully enveloped to a confidential friend, by whom they were to be put into the post, and thus safely reach their ultimate destination.

If Lucien had ever been minister of police, or post-master general, he would have most probably seen through the flimsiness of these precautions. The daughter, faithful to her promise, kept a kind of journal, in which her own actions, what she saw and heard around her, were related with the greatest minuteness and simplicity. Whether it arose from want of precaution on the part of those who frequented the drawing-rooms, or that the female attendant, a very lively French girl, who accompanied her from Italy, communicated all she saw herself, is hard to say; but it is very certain the epistolary journal often contained articles which were by no means flattering to the morals of her uncle

and aunts. The scandalous conduct of the latter was so little disguised, that in the innocence of her heart, Mademoiselle Charlotte did not mince matters quite so much as circumspection required. This last part of her correspondence was indifferent to Napoleon; but he was sadly annoyed whenever his own actions were detailed or commented upon; and yet the emperor had not explained the cause of that ill-humour, which he sometimes manifested towards his niece. One day while Madam Murat was with him, and appearing to interest herself for young Charlotte, "you have no idea, my friend," said Napoleon, "what pains have been taken to initiate this girl, or how well they have succeeded. You fancy she has some regard for you: let us see how she proves it." On saying this, he took out the last letter addressed to Canino, and read it to his sister. When relating this anecdote at Naples, eight months after, Caroline observed, "I was of

course thunderstruck at such a letter coming from my niece, and endeavoured to persuade myself it was the trick of a child; but, although I continued to defend her conduct, I can never forgive Madam Lucien for not bringing up my brother's children in a better manner. I hate her," added her Neapolitan Majesty with great warmth: "it is to her we are indebted for the division which has taken place in the family." With regard to maternal tenderness, this opinion of Madam Murat was very ill-founded; and the woman against whom she thus spoke, could have, since her second marriage, at least, given some very good examples to Queen Caroline.

Notwithstanding these little sources of dissatisfaction, it was considered high time to think of a matrimonial establishment for Lucien's daughter. The war in Spain raged at this period with redoubled fury; and the French had to contend with a population irritated to the last pitch of desperation,

against the tyranny which Buonaparte wished to impose, by encouraging the blackest treasons. This energetic resistance on the part of Spain, induced Napoleon to abandon the hopes of securing the people's submission by force of arms; and being no longer able to conquer the country, he thought he could save his credit by turning pacificator, without, however, giving up the idea of finally subjugating the nation. Duplicity and perfidy were the instruments by which even this last resource of Napoleon's ambition was to be attained. Both menaces and seduction were by turns employed to persuade the prisoner of Valençai. This prince, who, in the prime of life, and before he had scarcely time to place the crown on his head, saw himself condemned to an indefinite imprisonment, surrounded by gaolers, must have anticipated a fate upon which he had not calculated. It was in this state of mind that Buonaparte proposed liberty, the restitution of his crown,

and a wife!....Had Ferdinand's acquiescence to the last part of these humiliating proposals been agreed to by the Cortes, his chains were riveted for ever. We suppose, that nothing but the desire of getting out of prison, induced that ill-advised monarch to sign the letter which appeared in the Moniteur; although there is no doubt of Buonaparte's being fully capable of fabricating such a communication, and even subjoining Ferdinand's consent, if it suited his own purposes. The public saw with no less surprize than indignation, this debasement of legitimacy, exhibited in the virtual sovereign of Spain soliciting the honour of being considered the adopted son of Napoleon, and meanly asking permission to marry a princess of the *blood royal of France;* for this was the title given to a generation which could hardly be called French. As Joseph's daughters were too young for Napoleon to think of them on this occasion, Mademoiselle Charlotte was the *princess* alluded to. Had

the marriage taken place, the parties were to live in Paris at first, and orders were given to prepare the Palais Royal for their reception.

The whole of this famous scheme was prepared with all the secrecy of that tortuous policy, which usually distinguished the measures of Napoleon: there were no steps taken to obtain the consent of Lucien, who might be supposed to feel by far the greatest interest in the proposed event. When it could not well be any longer concealed, and his wishes on the subject were consulted as to the propriety of the match, so far from suffering himself to be dazzled by the splendor of an alliance which flattered his hopes and fed his ambition two years before, and that would have made the descendant of Charles the Fifth and Louis the Fourteenth his son-in-law, the senator notified his decided opposition to the match. "No!" said he, in a letter to the emperor, "I will never consent to sacrifice my children to your policy. God only knows what your

designs against Ferdinand are; but I well know that you have already done too much to that unfortunate prince, for me ever to call him a son-in-law." This trait is certainly one of those in Lucien's history, which reflect the greatest lustre on his character.

It is by no means difficult to imagine the effect which such an answer was calculated to produce on the impetuous Napoleon; and it was owing to his unbounded rage on the occasion, that the public became acquainted with the conditions which he intended to prescribe for Ferdinand. These proved, that the Ebro was to be the new frontier line between France and Spain, while various treaties were to involve her destinies in those of the former country; large garrisons were also to occupy the principal fortresses and ports of his Catholic Majesty, by way of securing his fidelity to the tyrant.

Such were the projects to which King Ferdinand was indebted for the preference

given to him in the disposal of Mademoiselle Charlotte; for Napoleon had also thought of the Grand Duke of Wurtzbourg, thinking, no doubt, that a prince, whose niece he had lately married himself, could not do less than receive his own with eagerness. The young lady had even been addressed on this subject, and having seen the German prince, she betrayed no disposition whatever to meet the wishes of her uncle. The father, who had shewn a very meritorious energy in his first opposition, was perhaps less wise in the present instance, when he also flatly refused the proffered honour. This served to render the brothers more inimical than ever; particularly when the emperor received one letter in which Lucien said, "send my daughter back; or in defiance of my proscription, and spite of your orders, I will go and find her in the very drawing-rooms of the Tuileries!"

On reading this fiery communication, Napoleon furiously exclaimed—"she may go!

-I never wish to hear her name mentioned again,—and take care that she is not at Paris in twenty-four hours from the present time." The despot's order was duly put into execution: Charlotte instantly set off, and when near home, Lucien, together with his wife, came to meet her. After the first transport of meeting was over, Lucien embracing his daughter again, said, "my child, I committed a great fault; but you are restored, and the evil is repaired."

It is supposed that the Empress Maria Louisa was kept in total ignorance of these family disputes, particularly the above one. Unacquainted with the divisions which separated the family into which destiny had thrown her, there was nothing to regret on that account, as her opinion could never have had any influence in making things better. When Charlotte Buonaparte was presented to this amiable princess, the former's first words were, "I request your friendship."

The rupture between Lucien and his brother was never marked by such mutually excessive enmity as at this period. Neither Madam Letitia or the rest of the family, dare now attempt to pronounce the former's name in Napoleon's hearing, while the senator himself expected every species of violence from the emperor's anger. In one of those epistles which were exchanged during this state of exasperation, Lucien told the usurper, "I am aware that your fury is capable of making you commit fratricide——" This was something like an invitation; Lucien was notwithstanding supplied with the passports he had previously demanded for the United States: these were addressed to him from the minister of the interior, *by order*. At the very moment of receiving them, the senator prepared for his departure with all possible dispatch; statues, pictures and effects were immediately packed up, and sent off to Civita Vecchia with the utmost dispatch.

It was towards this period that Fouché was removed from the ministry of police. Although we do not pretend to know all the circumstances which led to this disgrace, we have particular reasons for asserting, that one of the principal causes arose from the minister's pertinaciously maintaining, that it was of the greatest consequence to the existence of Napoleon's dynasty, that every member of his family should be closely united.

Fouché seemed on this occasion as anxious to ingratiate himself with the senator by promoting a reconciliation between the brothers, as he was to oppose Lucien on Napoleon's first accession to power. So unexpected a change could only be accounted for, by the fact of Fouché's knowing that he had no real support with the emperor since Josephine's divorce. The minister looked every where for a counterpoise to balance the power of Napoleon, which he began to find insupportable, since it weighed so heavily on

himself and the revolutionists. He had just been appointed to govern the two Roman provinces instead of Miollis; and got as far as Florence on his way, when fresh orders induced him to retrograde. Although Fouché's nomination was not revoked, the above orders, added to the former governor continuing to exercise his functions, rendered it perfectly useless to him. This postponement was a great disappointment to Lucien, it having been settled that his furniture, horses, equipages and servants should be transferred to the ex-minister of police: there was also another motive, which made Lucien wish to see Fouché, and secretly converse with him: he was particularly anxious to have several mysteries explained, which his remoteness from Paris had concealed from him, but being once discovered must have been of the greatest use in directing his future movements.

Foiled in his wishes with respect to Fouché,

Lucien now only thought of embarking: there was, however, but one ship at Civita Vecchia fit to make a long voyage: this was accordingly hired; but it was soon after discovered that she would not hold all the luggage, or afford the accommodation which so large a family as that of the senator required. In this dilemma, Lucien, who had long broken off all communication with Murat, and having something to demand, a few months before wrote to his sister Caroline, in a style of the greatest coldness, now addressed himself directly to the King of Naples; begging that the latter would let him have one of the American ships in that port, and which had been lately sequestered pursuant to the direction of Napoleon to his vassal of Naples. To this short communication Joachim returned a very obliging and friendly answer, in which he complained of the emperor himself in the bitterest terms, who, he observed in one part of his letter, adopted a

most perfidious policy with regard to him, forcing him to undertake ruinous armaments under the pretext of conquering Sicily, while he was certain the emperor had promised not to dispossess the family that reigned in that island: in fact, he regretted that it was not in his own power also to escape from tyranny, as the persecuted brother was. In other respects Murat fully acceded to the wishes of Lucien; and the Hercules, a fine American ship, was restored to her captain, on the sole condition, that he should receive the family and effects of the senator. The king even ordered forty-four thousand francs to be advanced for the purpose of hastening her repairs, and a Neapolitan ship of war was sent to escort her to Civita Vecchia.

This piece of service cost Murat very dearly, for the emperor heard of the confidential letter, owing perhaps to Lucien's having in a moment of exultation spoken rather too freely of it: this gave rise to the

greatest indignation on the part of Napoleon, who called it *a crime* in Joachim to have thus assisted a departure, which notwithstanding the passport signed by himself, was designated as a flight. The only terms on which the King of Naples could obtain pardon for this offence, was by paying ten millions of francs to his inexorable brother-in-law. Such at least is the positive assertion of Madam Murat.

While the American captain was making the necessary arrangements to receive his passengers, Lucien took such steps as he thought most likely to secure his passage across the Atlantic. When about two years before, and while in similar difficulties, the same voyage was proposed, he addressed Mr. Hill, the English minister at Cagliari, who immediately granted a passport, by which the senator was guaranteed from being molested by the British cruizers. In the present conjuncture he secretly sent an agent to

the above place, with a letter requesting that Mr. Hill would renew the privilege formerly granted. The ambassador's answer to this application, stated, that so far from its being in his power to comply with Lucien's request on this occasion, the permission formerly given had been highly disapproved of by the ministers of his master.

From this unexpected refusal the senator began to entertain serious alarm at the idea of being stopped on his voyage; but considering the danger to be greatest on his brother's side, he determined to persevere in the voyage. Anxious to prevent his fine collection of pictures from being seized by his brother, it was decided that the whole should be deposited in the hands of some bankers at Rome, who had advanced him considerable sums; as by this arrangement he hoped the gallery would escape the rapacity of Napoleon.

To give some idea of their value, it will

be sufficient to state, that when the first notion of going to America occurred to Lucien, his brother Louis offered one million five hundred thousand francs for all the pictures, and a few statues: of the former there were about a hundred and twenty. In the event of this offer's being accepted, these fine specimens were intended for a gallery, which the above named personage was desirous of forming in Holland. Since the period alluded to, the collection had been augmented by a regular set of the most classical engravings extant, together with some of the best pictures in the Ricardi collection: these were bought during Lucien's last visit to Florence.

Neither Miollis, or the junta who participated in his authority, had as yet thrown any obstacles in the way of Lucien's preparations; but uneasy at not receiving any instructions from Paris on the subject, and suspecting the despot's artful forbearance to arise from an idea that he intended to lay all the blame on

them, should it suit his future convenience, they thought it was the safest plan to prevent the embarkation till farther orders: in consequence of this determination, and without assigning any reason, a temporary embargo was laid on all the vessels at Civita Vecchia. This was a dreadful source of alarm to Lucien, who of course thought the order must have come from Paris. Re-assuming, however, his wonted courage, on hearing the contrary, he addressed General Miollis in a tone of great authority, remonstrating against his detention; and in another letter to the junta of government, it was summoned to revoke the embargo with respect to him at least, and declared that both parties should be made responsible for preventing his departure, which had been *willed* by the emperor himself. This had the desired effect, and the embargo was withdrawn.

At length the family took leave of Tusculum, on the first of August, 1810; a place in

which so many days of tranquillity and happiness had passed; nor could any of the party flatter themselves with the hopes of ever seeing it again, so remote were their expectations of returning to Europe. Arriving at Civita Vecchia, in the midst of apprehensions that some new cause of detention might arise, Lucien lost no time in embarking his family. Taking advantage of a fair wind that sprung up, the Hercules weighed anchor on the fifth. Lucien's suite was very numerous: his family consisted of two daughters by the first marriage: Charlotte, whose name has already often appeared in these Memoirs, and Amelia, three years younger than her sister. Charles, born in 1803, before the marriage: this was a very interesting child, capable of great application to his studies, and remarkably intelligent. Letitia, born at Milan, and so called after her grandmother; a second daughter, named Jane, who Pius VII. had held over the baptismal font at Rome, giving her

the name of his own mother; finally, Paul, who was born at Canino.

In addition to the above, Lucien had identified Mademoiselle Anna Jouberteau, his wife's daughter, with his own family. This young lady was about twelve years of age, and always treated with the same affection as the rest of his children.

The persons attached to his household, and who embarked with the family, were composed of a physician; a tutor for his children, father Maurice, a priest who also officiated as chaplain; a secretary, in the person of M. Chatillon, already known to the reader, and who had remained with his patron since his being minister of the interior; a nephew of his first wife, educated with Jerome, who enjoyed the unlimited confidence of Lucien, merited no less by the excellence of his character, than a sincere attachment to his uncle, who intrusted him with the most secret affairs of his family. If thirty servants are

added to the foregoing list, a tolerably accurate notion may be formed of Lucien's establishment, which was really that of a prince.

When clear out of Civita Vecchia harbour, the Hercules hove too, for the purpose of receiving the family, which had remained on shore to the last moment; and there happening to be a considerable swell, the boats had great difficulty in getting alongside: there was even an appearance of danger, to those who were unaccustomed to the sea; and it was with the utmost uneasiness, Lucien saw his children successively handed out of the frail bark to which they had been consigned: this was attended with much trouble; and at times when a billow intervened between the boat and ship's side, or another brought her in violent contact with the latter, the senator trembled with horror, lest some accident might occur. As this state of painful suspence continued for some time, it did not fail to bring back the recollection of his long persecutions;

this was too evident to escape the notice of his attendants; and with a countenance full of indignant rage, he was at one time heard to exclaim in a tone of deep despair, the following line from the Philoctetes of La Harpe:—

Ils m'ont fait tous ces maux—que les dieux les leurs rendent!

Thus Lucien, who had done so much towards the elevation of his brother, now saw himself the victim of his own work: and his last adieu to Italy was little less than a malediction on the head of his persecutors.

A storm arose on the very night after their sailing, and contributed not a little to increase the evils of sea-sickness, which became very general on board. As the bad weather continued, it was determined to take shelter in Cagliari: having anchored in the bay, Lucien wrote to the King of Sardinia, requesting permission to land, and remain for a few days in the capital, being in want of some repose after the storm he experienced in crossing from Italy. To this no reply was sent

for twenty-four hours, when the minister informed him, that his Sardinian majesty was extremely sorry to be under the necessity of refusing the demand of M. Lucien Buonaparte, but that in the present state of affairs, it was impossible to admit into his last asylum the brother of a sovereign, whose thirst for power and conquest was unbounded. Mortified by this answer, the senator insisted on and reiterated his request that the family should be allowed to disembark, in which case he would most willingly remain on board. The reply to this letter was brought by Mr. Adair, ambassador from Great Britain to the Porte, and at the above period on his way to Constantinople. The king absolutely refused his acquiescence in either of Lucien's demands, and at the same time expressed a wish that the Hercules should not remain much longer in the bay. Upon this being notified, Lucien once more asked for a safe conduct from the English minister: to which Mr. Adair replied that it

could not possibly be granted; and moreover, that Mr. Hill, so far from having the power to give the document he required, ought to have requested the naval commanders stationed in the Mediterranean, to stop the vessel in which Lucien had embarked, and send her back to Italy, or if the passengers wished, into a port under British domination. Thus ended the conference, which in other respects, Mr. Adair conducted with the utmost courtesy and politeness.

It therefore became necessary to sail from Cagliari with very slender hopes of escaping the threatened detention; although whatever might happen, Lucien was determined not to put himself in the power of Napoleon. The ship had scarcely cleared the land, when two English frigates hove in sight: as these were most probably ordered to look out for the Hercules, they made sail towards her immediately, and on getting up a lieutenant was sent on board to examine the stranger. When the American captain stated that he was con-

veying the family of Signor Fabricio, a merchant, to Philadelphia, the officer began to sneer at the story, and soon after addressed the senator in his own name. The passengers had not even the option of returning to Civita Vecchia, if ever so well inclined, which was far from being the case. Lucien was merely left to chuse between England and Malta: anxious to have his fate decided some way or another, the latter was named, as when there the senator intended to solicit the permission of continuing his voyage: he even hoped to pass the winter in that island, presuming that the British ministry's reply would not arrive before it was too late in the season to proceed on so long a voyage. The same officer who had been first sent to visit the Hercules, having reported the result to his commander, soon came back with a message from the latter, inviting Lucien and his family to come on board the frigate, where they would find better accommodations: the offer

being accepted, they were immediately transferred to her, and after putting an officer and crew into the Hercules, both ships made sail for Malta, where they arrived in less than a week. The English captain's attentions, during the passage, were infinite, and marked by the most refined delicacy.*

It was on the twenty-fourth of August, that the fatigued voyagers entered the port of La Valetta: the governor, a rigid character, and who was apparently without instructions from his government as to the disposal of the French ruler's brother, thought it was necessary to take the greatest precautions for the safe custody of such an important per-

* The English editor is enabled to inform the reader that it was his majesty's ship La Pomone, Captain Robert Barrie, who detained Lucien Buonaparte and family. He is also most happy in this opportunity of saying that the persecuted senator could not possibly have fallen into the hands of an officer, more distinguished for his professional abilities, gallantry, and gentlemanly manners.

sonage, and could not find a better mode of fulfilling these, his zealous intentions, than by shutting the whole family up in Fort Ricasoli, situated on the point of that name, which forms the eastern entrance of the above fine harbour. Whether this measure of the British general emanated from his own superior wisdom, or was suggested by the sagacity of those gentlemen who occupied the chief places under his excellency, we do not pretend to judge; and only venture to hint, that a barren and shrubless neck of land, exposed to the fervid rays of an autumnal sun, was not very well calculated for the reception of sick children, or passengers exhausted by a sea voyage. Besides, the senator and family were put into a very badly furnished quarter, or rather an unfurnished one, for it was necessary to send over to Valetta for almost every article of convenience. This kind of treatment from a nation, hitherto justly celebrated for its generous hospitality to the

unfortunate of every country, went to Lucien's heart; and was felt the more severely from its being totally unexpected. Having entered the fort at two o'clock in the afternoon, the governor came at nine in the evening, accompanied by two officers. Lucien's reception of the general, was by no means that of a prisoner: on the contrary, he spoke with all the warmth and loftiness of an offended and menacing sovereign: however, neither his rage or violent expression seemed to have any effect on the governor, who told him very cooly, that until he had received the instructions of Mr. Adair, neither himself or family could be provided with any other residence, or suffered to go at large on their parole: he added, that an express should be instantly sent off to Cagliari; and on taking his leave, the governor exacted a promise from his prisoner that the latter should hold no correspondence whatever without his consent and approbation. Notwithstanding the rigorous measures which the

English general felt it his duty to adopt on this occasion, his manner of addressing the senator was marked by a considerable share of deference and politeness.

During these arrangements with regard to Lucien, a Sicilian frigate arrived at Malta; the Marchesa Minutolo, a Spanish lady, wife to a general officer employed in the household of Ferdinand the Fourth, was a passenger on board. The senator had known this fascinating little woman at Madrid: she now came from the famous Caroline, late consort of the above monarch, commissioned to borrow thirty-five millions of francs, from Lucien, or through his interposition! To this modest request, the senator replied, that his whole fortune did not equal eight millions of that sum, including the gallery, estimated at two millions; the jewels and diamonds of his wife at the same; and his estates in Italy at double the foregoing. He added, that if at Rome, he could facilitate the loan required by her Sicilian majesty, and cause

the acceptance of those securities which she offered in Spain. Such was the answer with which Madame Minutolo returned to Palermo.

A great variety of opinions having gone abroad as to Lucien's fortune, we shall give an exact outline of it, which the reader is at liberty to compare with the senator's own estimate of his riches.

When Lucien left France in 1804, his annual income was estimated at two hundred thousand francs, besides which, he had a capital of five hundred thousand more, which was left in Spain in the shape of a loan to the family of Santa Cruz. At Paris he possessed the Hotel de Brienne, which cost him three hundred thousand francs: this house, together with the furniture, and about two hundred pictures, was afterwards given up to Madame Letitia, for all of which she paid nine hundred thousand francs in ready money.

To this fortune of his own, should also be

added his emoluments as a senator, and from Poppelsdorf the estate attached to that office, in all sixty-five thousand francs annually; and lastly, so as to leave out none of the items, he was allowed fifteen hundred francs a year, as member of the Institute.*

Lucien's income from Poppelsdorf, and the senatorship, ceased in July, 1810, when the passports which he had demanded were received; at that time both the Senate and Institute were ordered no longer to consider him as amongst the number of their members.

Ever since the senator's residence in Italy, a year never passed without going beyond his income; not through prodigality or love of show, but in making various purchases, adding

* It was reported by some of Lucien's household, that he had deposited a large sum in the Bank of England, amounting, it is said, to several million of francs; but this is of course mere conjecture.

to his stock of pictures, statues, &c. and entering into such speculations as he thought likely to increase his capital. The above system soon led to a considerable derangement in his different funds; but on fixing his residence at Rome, Lucien determined to concentrate the whole of these, so as to be under his own immediate inspection.

Previous to his arrival in that capital, Lucien was some time at Bassano, a country seat which belonged to the Giustiniani family, generally visited by all foreign amateurs who go to Rome, to view the frescos, and other productions of Dominichino, which ornament its apartments, and are in the highest preservation. His mother, Cardinal Fesch, and Madame Borghèse, being at Rome when Lucien first came into the neighbourhood, used frequently to visit him at Bassano, which he wanted to purchase, had not the proprietor demanded too great a price.

On removing to the capital, the Lance-

lotti Palace was hired; but as Lucien had determined to have one of his own, a negotiation was begun for buying the Hungarian villa near the baths of Dioclesian, having extensive gardens in its rear: this palace was commenced by Cardinal Montalto, and finished under his auspices while pope. Independently of not possessing any of its ancient magnificence, the gardens were in such a state of abandonment, that it would have required an immense sum to make the place habitable: all these considerations induced Lucien to give up every idea of the purchase. He was afterwards endeavouring to bargain for the palace of the Giraud family, a very fine house built in the Florentine style, and situated near the Vatican.* Not being

* By a curious coincidence, this palace belonged originally to the kings of England, and was given to the Campeggi family, by Henry the Eighth, when that lascivious monarch's religious policy rendered it no longer of any use to himself.—*Ed.*

able to agree about the terms, he at last fixed on the Nunez Palace, Via Condotti, one of the most lively streets in Rome: this cost the senator one hundred and fifty thousand francs; and the expence which he went to for repairs, may be estimated at two-thirds of that sum.

Rufinella had been previously purchased, and several vineyards which Lucien caused to be planted round the estate, rendered that place a source of great profit, as well as amusement.

In addition to the foregoing, he bought the villa of Mæcenas, Rocca-Priore, Dragoncella, and Appolina, estates formerly belonging to dismembered fiefs. All these different possessions did not yield more than about thirty-five thousand francs per annum.

Lucien's last purchase was that of Canino, affording a net annual revenue of eighty thousand francs, and capable of a considerable increase proportioned to the improvements made there.

These places were generally bought at a very advantageous rate, and might be considered rather as temporary deposits for his capital, than permanent purchases: the same may be said of his statues and pictures, of which the purchase money was much below the two millions of francs, at which they were valued.

Upon the whole, however, the money laid out in his gallery and museum, the purchase of so many estates, excavations, expensive and frequently unprofitable speculations, and the keeping up of his domestic establishment, required a yearly expence which Lucien's revenues were far from being equal to supply. It therefore became necessary to break in upon the capital, and this being absorbed, recourse was had to the family. Notwithstanding the senator's previous determination to remain independent of his relatives, both Louis and Joseph contributed on different occasions to his pecuniary wants: Jerome

also, when King of Westphalia, lent him a hundred thousand florins. After having rendered him this service with delicacy, he subsequently forgot the obligations under which Lucien had formerly placed himself, and was not ashamed to become the importunate creditor of that brother, who ten years before had taken care of him with the most affectionate tenderness. M. Jerome not only often asked for his money, but had even once the impertinence to say, "Does Lucien take me for his banker?" The senator, justly indignant at this expression, immediately collected his wife's jewels, and sending them off to Paris, directed that they should be pledged to re-imburse the ungrateful brother. Madam Letitia was well acquainted with the embarrassments of her dear son Lucien, but she only gave him her sympathy. So that nothing can be more unfounded than the idea generally entertained, of the senator's having drawn large supplies from the affections of

his mother: all the generosity of this good old lady, was confined to birth-day presents of insignificant value, except in the last moment of separating from Charlotte, when she presented her grand-daughter with a hundred thousand francs. The foregoing exposition, drawn from unexceptionable sources, may therefore serve to give an accurate idea of Lucien Buonaparte's fortune.

Returning from this digression, we have first to observe, that the much wished-for reply of Mr. Adair did not arrive until twenty-eight days after the governor's visit. On this the general offered Lucien apartments for himself and family at St. Antonio, a country house five miles from La Valetta, formerly inhabited by the grand masters. It may be easily conceived that the senator did not hesitate acceptance; and no time was lost in transporting the whole establishment to its new place of abode: thus very willingly bidding adieu to the broiling sun and white-washed barracks of Ricasoli.

As the house was not furnished, Lucien confining himself to what was absolutely necessary, only bought furniture to the amount of three hundred guineas. A guard of fifty soldiers, accompanied by two officers, were appointed to do duty at this place, from whence Lucien could not move without being attended by one of the latter.

The pure air of St. Antonio soon restored the children to health, and was, in other respects, extremely agreeable to Madame Lucien and her husband. The time was passed in various occupations: the senator proceeded with the composition of his poem, while the evenings were devoted to music, plays, dancing, &c.: to these the two officers were frequently invited, and used also to dine occasionally with the family.

Perceiving that he had nothing to expect from the captious and vigilant policy of the English general commanding at Malta, Lucien soon got tired of his residence on that island, and looked with increased anxiety for the Bri-

tish ministry's decision as to his future destination. This arrived in a letter from the Marquis Wellesley, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, two months after the senator's arrival; and went to say that his Britannic Majesty's ministers having had a positive assurance, that M. Buonaparte only wished for a peaceful asylum, determined on transferring him to England, where he should be treated as a prisoner of war on his parole. In consequence of this arrangement, the Admiralty sent out the President, a very fine frigate, to receive the senator and his family: this ship arrived at Malta in November, and was commanded by a Captain Warren. She had been very commodiously fitted up, and afforded all the conveniences which it is possible for a ship to possess, or the inexperienced can have at sea. Having received the whole family and suite, the President sailed from La Valetta on the 29th November; and although the bad weather rendered their passage somewhat dis-

agreeable, it was not a very long one, as the frigate anchored in Plymouth Sound on the 28th of the following month.

Previous to landing it was necessary to await the orders of government: these were brought in a few days, by Mr. Mackenzie, appointed as a kind of commissary to take care of the new visitors: on disembarking, the whole family took up its temporary abode at the King's Arms Hotel.

Lucien had been extremely liberal to the President's crew. Captain Warren accepted a gold watch enriched with diamonds from his passenger, for which the latter received a beautiful doubled barrelled gun in exchange, which, during his stay in England, became the senator's favourite fowling-piece. The whole of Lucien's disbursements from leaving Civita Vecchia to landing at Plymouth, amounted to nearly two hundred thousand francs.

After a week's repose at the place of disembarkation, Mr. Mackenzie, in pursuance of

orders previously received from the ministry, conducted Lucien to Ludlow, a hundred and thirty-eight miles from London. For the present he only took two of his attendants with him, leaving the rest of his family at Plymouth, until a house could be prepared for their reception. It should be observed that the commissary would not allow the senator to defray any of the expences attending this first journey, the whole being disbursed on account of government.

Arrived at Ludlow, it was necessary to take a house and furnish it. While Lucien was reflecting on the best means of accomplishing this object, the Earl of Powis, who resided occasionally at Stonehouse, a country seat in the neighbourhood, very obligingly offered his town house, which was already prepared for the reception of a family, to the senator: this was immediately accepted, and notice of the circumstance being sent to Plymouth, Madam Lucien, together with the rest of her family,

set off directly to join her husband; and in a few days more, the whole establishment was comfortably settled in the new residence.

Mr. Mackenzie remained in the town as superintendent commissary over Lucien, who was debarred from going more than eleven miles from Ludlow: this restriction was also extended to every other member of the family and suite. The dull monotony of being thus limited in his excursions, soon became hateful to the senator; and although he sought for retirement while in Italy, the society of the principal inhabitants of Ludlow was now courted with avidity. Entering freely into their various parties, and receiving them in his turn, during his stay of six months, seemed to infer that he had acquired some claim to their affection and esteem.

The first commissary being succeeded in his office by a Mr. Twinam, the latter was soon accused of shewing rather too much indulgence towards his prisoners: this, added to

the information communicated to government, relative to the constant assiduities of the inhabitants at Lucien's house, determined ministers to remove the family to another part of the country.

The uneasiness thus manifested by the British government with regard to Lucien, is said to have originated in a belief that when the senator quitted Italy, his rupture with Napoleon was only feigned. Many persons who were employed about the latter, seemed to indulge the same opinion, pretending that it was meant to cover very important designs: amongst the rest, it was intended that Lucien should really establish himself in America, where all his efforts were to be directed towards weakening the English party, and strengthening that of France, keeping up a constant communication with the British possessions in Europe and other places, until he had induced the Americans to declare war against England.

By this diversion, Buonaparte would be fully enabled to regain his lost footing in Spain and Portugal, from whence the English would be under the necessity of withdrawing their troops: the merchant vessels of America, according to this plan, which must prevent their trading with Great Britain, could, under the protection of their maritime force, be amply compensated for that privation, in the French ports, now closed by a general blockade! Such was the political phantasmagoria which presented itself to the distempered imaginations of those plot-makers and castle-builders, who so often contrive at once to delude and amuse the public of both the great European nations!

However plausible these absurd notions might have appeared to the less credulous part of the community, nothing could be so unlikely, or farther removed from truth: the enmity between the two brothers being of the most rooted and violent description, as proved

by innumerable facts, which were even at that time well known, and are now unquestionable.

The friends of Lucien caused several paragraphs, in corroboration of the foregoing assertion, to appear in the English papers, at a time when public opinion had inclined the government to sanction his final departure for America. In one of these the writer observes: "Even the brother of Napoleon, to whom the latter is indebted, for not failing in his successful attempt to obtain power, or being torn to pieces by the jacobins, is obliged to fly from the tyranny under which the whole continent groans. He goes to America, where he will find Moreau proscribed like himself, on account of his services, and the deserted wife of Jerome. It is to the English government Lucien addresses his application for the means of enabling him to escape the vengeance of his brother; and with that generosity which characterizes the British nation, it has hastened to grant his request.

Whilst his brothers are decorated with usurped royalty, he is going to hide his proscribed head in a distant country. What a strange destiny! and how forcibly do such incidents shew the fate generally attendant on all those who have played any considerable part in the late sanguinary revolution."

Obliged to quit Ludlow, Lucien bought an estate called Thorngrove, fifteen miles from that town, and not far from Worcester: this purchase was made under the name of a London banker, the laws not permitting unnaturalized foreigners to purchase land in the united kingdom. Thorngrove occupied a considerable extent of ground, and cost the senator nine thousand pounds.

The interest so kindly manifested by Earl Powis, on Lucien's first appearance at Ludlow, had, towards the end of his residence there, from some cause or other, unknown to the family, changed into coldness and neglect. Lucien even heard of that noble

lord's expressing some intention to demand rent for the house he so generously gave up to the senator's family in the first moments of his benevolent zeal: on this, Lucien immediately sent his lordship three hundred guineas by way of compensation: these the lord at first refused, but on being pressed a little, he at length consented to receive! So that the noble earl got at the rate of fifty guineas a month for his house; which was considered a large sum in that part of the country, particularly as the residence was rather mean than otherwise.

Contrary to Lucien's determination of adopting a system of the most scrupulous economy on leaving Italy, his mode of living in England was conducted on a totally different principle, being both magnificent and expensive: the senator appeared to be desirous of shewing that he was the brother of a great sovereign, and by imposing on the credulity of his visitors, give a species of

dignified renown to his captivity. This is the only way in which we can account for him, who had never attached any importance to external pomp, decking his servants out in splendid liveries, and setting up a showy carriage. Nor did he betray any more inclination to retrench in his household expences, although soon after his arrival in England, he sustained a loss of eight thousand pounds, by the failure of a banker in the metropolis, named Le Mesurier, and of French origin.

Amongst the measures of precaution adopted by the British ministry for the better security of Lucien and his family, was that of frequently changing the superintendent commissaries. To Mr. Twinam succeeded a Colonel Layton, who, like his predecessors, examined the senator's correspondence, but with much more exactness and severity. All letters addressed to the family, were delivered to the Colonel, locked up in a small box, of which the commissary kept a key,

and having read them, they were forwarded on to Thorngrove. The answers, or any other communications which Lucien might be desirous of sending, also passed through the hands of the above personage.

While at his second place of abode, the senator became very regular in his habits. Rising every morning at eight o'clock, he breakfasted with the family at nine, and then retired to a small cottage on his own grounds, within a mile of the house, for the purpose of going on with his poem. This occupation continued till one, though occasionally interrupted by shooting: in these excursions Captain Warren's fowling-piece was always preferred. Returning to dinner at two, he would often, if the weather permitted, renew the same amusement till five in the evening, and devote the rest of it to literary pursuits, generally retiring at ten. These occupations, though not immediately in his own house, did not, however, prevent Lucien from parti-

cipating in all the pleasures of domestic life: the whole family used frequently to visit the cottage, and thus afforded him an agreeable variety and relaxation from severer studies.

It has been observed that men of strong passions have generally one great object, which is almost exclusive, and pursued in preference to every other. If, however, any degree of characteristic inconstancy is joined to their natural ardour, and they are attracted by a different pursuit, the predominating passion is not thereby diminished, nor does its power of excluding others experience any diminution. This was particularly exemplified in Lucien, who, with the exception of his domestic attachments, never lost sight of his grand ruling principle, an immoderate thirst of fame: this was the motive of all his actions and designs: above all, his great ambition was that of striking out new paths for the attainment of his object. Scarcely had Lucien arrived at the age of maturity,

when we see him enter headlong into the agitated career of politics, anxious to seize every opportunity of making himself conspicuous: impatient to adorn his name with the flattering title of a legislator, he was favoured by events, and rising with them, devoted his whole time to the science of government; but checked in his ambition, ill-treated and driven from power, he next made a merit of manifesting his opposition to the ruinous policy of Napoleon: thus rendering the hatred of Europe towards his brother, profitable to his own self-love. Having at length relinquished the hopes of reconciliation, or at least, seeing no probability of its early accomplishment, he had scarcely abandoned the noisy tumult of public affairs, when another kind of glory soon excited his ardour. This was found in Lucien's anxiety to give his name, already connected with the historical events of his time, a degree of celebrity which should be exclusively of a personal nature to

himself, and that would add more lustre to his political reputation; in a word, Lucien now aspired to a distinguished rank in literature, and wished to be numbered amongst the great poets of France.

Previous to his arriving at dignity and place, Lucien's pen had been frequently guided by an amorous and fervid imagination; but of the various productions which his amatory muse supplied, one alone seemed worthy of encountering the public gaze: this was an oriental romance, as to style and incident, but totally destitute of interest in other respects; many of the descriptions were, however, animated, and most of them displayed a degree of freedom not very compatible with chastity or sound morals. This offspring of the senator's youthful brain, was published in two duodecimo volumes, and without the author's name: as it might be said to have fallen still-born from the press, he very wisely met the public half way, and

soon forgot that a single copy remained amongst the refuse of his library.

On becoming a public man, Lucien's style was adapted to his situation, and he gave up that frivolity of diction, which had been the result of his former idle pursuits. But while in Italy, absolved from political cares, and enjoying all the sweets of rural life, he once more recurred to these sources of youthful occupation. During the summer of 1807, the evenings of Madam Lucien were frequently passed in forming enigmas, and putting couplets together: the senator, who usually joined in these amusements, also took it into his head to translate some stanzas from Tasso, which he knew by heart, and used sometimes to sing in the manner of the Venetians. As these efforts appeared to be rather happy, they soon inflamed the poet's imagination; and persevering in his attempt to render the author of Jerusalem Delivered into French verse, it struck the senator that

he might himself write a poem: the idea once formed, Lucien mounted on his hobby and thought of nothing else.

He derived peculiar pleasure from the perusal of Chateaubriand's Beauties of Christianity; for although the author was no favorite, he knew how to appreciate the merits of the book. It was from that work which Lucien appeared to have formed his poetical system: he was also convinced that religion and its various mysteries afford an inexhaustible fund of the highest poetic imagery, and with this impression he made it the basis of his epic studies. The asylum he had found under the head of Catholicism, naturally fixed his attention, directing his researches to the annals of Christianity. He chose the period at which the Lombard kings endeavoured to extend their domination over the south of Italy, as affording a good subject for his newly revived mania, and thence conceived the idea of composing Charlemagne.

The poet's first essay in following up the above design, proves the ardour with which it was pursued, as three cantos were ready at the end of 1807, the year he had began the poem; but succeeding events, the senator's agricultural occupations, and two journies made into Tuscany, served considerably to retard the progress of his literary labours: however, at the moment of quitting Italy in 1810, he had already completed nine cantos out of the twenty-four which his plan embraced. The composition was renewed with increased zeal during his residence at St. Antonio, and in England, particularly at Thorngrove, where this laborious task was at length terminated in 1815. During the above period several cantos were re-written, and most of them considerably altered.

This poem, which had been spoken of in the literary circles both of England and France, notwithstanding the interdiction of authority, was published in the former country

immediately after its being finished;* but

* As soon as the book appeared, Lucien hastened to send a copy to the French Academy, accompanied by a very civil letter, in which he solicited the councils, criticisms and advice of his brother academicians. The president, in ordering the work to be deposited in the library, charged the perpetual secretary to thank M. Lucien, and acknowledge the receipt of his offering. Will it be credited that several members warmly opposed that any answer should be sent to the senator; or that had it not been for the vigorous remonstrance of M. Suard, who exposed the indecency and turpitude of such conduct, on the part of the Academy, the proposed measure would have most probably been adopted? When Lucien returned with Napoleon in 1815, the very same men who opposed that a reply should be sent to him on the above occasion, were now the first to propose that a deputation should wait on the senator, for the purpose of felicitating him on his happy arrival, and to express how much flattered the Academy would feel, by his *excellency's* consecrating a few moments of his valuable time to its proceedings. The question was now, who should be first in sharing the honour of that man's smile, who was, two years before, the object of their scorn and contempt!!!

the French journals gave no account of it, till the author's brother had fallen from power. When that event took place, Lucien caused the book to be reprinted by M. Firmin Didot; and even proposed to publish a third edition in folio: this was to exhaust the talents of the engraver, and occupy all the powers of typography. Every canto was to have its frontispiece and vignette, while each sheet was destined to undergo the ceremony of being wire-wove and hot-pressed. The designs were made by M. de Châtillon, under the senator's own immediate inspection, and placed in the hands of British artists to be engraved for two hundred guineas a piece; which for this object alone, would have absorbed a hundred and twenty thousand francs.

It is more than probable that nothing but Lucien's entire confidence in the success of his poem, would have induced him to think of preparing a third edition; but this success

which he anticipated with so much parental fondness and poetic vanity, was more than contested, it was refused! and we are inclined to believe, that when the senator saw his literary castle fall, he no longer felt ambitious of sacrificing a large sum for the gratification of mere self-love, and in addition to the great expence already incurred in this abortive enterprize.*

Neither the culture of poetry, peaceful charms of rural life, or domestic happiness, seem to have been capable of making Lucien smother the recollections of former days, or banish the idle dreams of previous ambition and present disappointment. The senator's distracted thoughts frequently recurred to these, in spite of himself: so difficult is it for those who once enter the thorny field of politics, to withstand the fatal allurements

* A critique on the merits of Charlemagne will be found towards the end of this volume.

of power and fortune! Besides, although Lucien became a voluntary exile, to escape the tyrannical domination of Napoleon, the circumstance of his being treated as a prisoner of war, and made the object of continued suspicion and distrust in a country which was once celebrated for its impartiality to persecuted foreigners, no matter whence they came, or what their politics were, soon converted that exile into bondage. The more Napoleon's power increased, and the greater his triumphs over the old cabinets, the more was Lucien's conduct likely to be closely watched and strictly scrutinized. A reconciliation between the two brothers was still possible, by means of eminent services on one side, and the irresistible charms of emolument and place on the other: so that what with his unlooked for reception in England, and the inward struggles of nature, to live on terms of harmony with his family, nothing could be more irksome or delicate than the

situation of Lucien: this became still more painful when the excesses of his brother realized the former presentiments of uncontaminated Europe, as to the inevitable destruction of a power, whose sole foundation was laid on the fate of battles, or military glory. Although Lucien foresaw the catastrophe of Moscow, and defeat at Leipzic, he did not feel their effects the less keenly, when they did take place. In these, the senator not only recognized lessons the most terrible for his senseless brother, but they were also the melancholy presage of decadence to his family, and of the bitterest misfortune to those whom he had always held dear. Lucien's anxiety was redoubled during the campaign of 1814, when he even offered up prayers in secret for that brother whom he had to reproach with so many personal injuries. It soon after became infinitely more distressing, to reflect that the first moments of liberty he had been permitted to enjoy,

during many years, was only due to the dethronement of the same brother, and entire fall of that very political edifice which he had himself so successfully contributed to raise. Restored to personal liberty by the treaty of Paris, Lucien immediately turned his eyes towards Italy; and with a view of proceeding to that country, asked permission to pass through France on his way, but this was refused.

M. de Chatillon, whom the senator dispatched with letters to Talleyrand, was received both with coldness and indifference. Lucien went through Germany and Switzerland, leaving his family in England, unwilling that it should quit this country, before he knew how the Pope was likely to receive him, and on what kind of terms he could live at Rome. Having commenced his journey in the beginning of May, he arrived at the Roman capital on the 27th of the same month, and was received by the sovereign pontiff on the very

night of his arrival. The public are already acquainted with how much friendly solicitude and kindness the senator was treated on this occasion. The holy father immediately conferred the dignity of a Roman prince on Lucien; and the next day, all the nobles came to salute him by his new title as Prince of Canino: he was at the same time recognized as Count of Apollino, Lord of Nemori and other places. In France, and the rest of Europe, people could not help regarding this ostentatious display of honours and rewards bestowed on the brother of him who had stripped the Pope of every thing, making his holiness the object of continued persecution, as being somewhat misplaced.

It was no doubt by the way of satisfying public opinion, that the venerable pontiff published the act which justified his holiness in elevating Lucien to his present rank.

"Taking into consideration," observes this document, "the loyal and sincere attach-

ment which Lucien Buonaparte has invariably shown towards the holy see, and particularly for our own person; in following the steps of our predecessors, who have always felt a pleasure in honouring subjects distinguished by eminent virtues, and that may have merited their esteem, &c. We therefore raise M. Lucien Buonaparte to the dignity of Prince of Canino, together with all the honours and privileges attached to that title."

However great Madam Lucien's anticipation might have been, as to her husband's reception at Rome, she was overpowered with joy on hearing of the many distinguished favours which had been heaped on Lucien by the Pope's liberality. These marks of attention only served to increase her anxiety to join the senator. Carriages and various other necessaries requisite for the establishment at Rome being prepared, the whole family, with the exception of a daughter left at Hinckley in

Leicestershire for the benefit of her health, embarked and crossed to Ostend, from whence, Madam Buonaparte proceeded by easy stages through Switzerland, arriving at Rome in the beginning of October. The senator soon after presented her and his children to their new sovereign and his own benefactor, who received them all with the utmost affability and kindness.

Thus it would appear that Lucien's fortune had acquired new strength by the late events, gaining in stability what it had lost in grandeur; while that of his brother, lately so gigantic, was now limited to the possession of an island scarcely recognized as a part of that Europe which he had shaken to its base; a secluded spot of earth, which the dethroned emperor could only regard in the light of an extended prison, or place of exile. This great reverse affected Lucien most sensibly; nor did he delay communicating his opinion to the recluse of Elba, who was soon led to

understand, that the senator's enmity had given way to those paramount sentiments of fraternal affection which his misfortunes were so calculated to excite. The early part of their renewed correspondence was managed through the intervention of others, whose vicissitudes had rendered them also more interesting to the long divided brothers. The frequent voyages of Madam Letitia and her daughter Pauline, from Elba to Rome and back again, had the effect of reconciling them, without its being suffered to appear that Lucien had swerved in any degree from the principles he had so long defended. His first letters were filled with censures on the impolitic conduct pursued by Napoleon during his prosperity; while he, who had until then despised every species of advice, now invoked the councils of the person whose co-operation was the principal cause of his first rapid advance to power and despotism.

Solicited by his brother, mother, and sisters,

Lucien could no longer resist so powerful an appeal: hoping to derive a degree of personal glory from the political resurrection of his family, obtaining those advantages most calculated to flatter self-love, or gratify passions which had always too great an ascendant over him, these motives, added to the refusal of admitting the senator into France, the distrust manifested with regard to him, and critiques which the Parisian editors made on his poem, although it contained passages favourable to the Bourbons, were also particularly offensive to Lucien's pride: all these circumstances irritated him to such a degree that he became decidedly inimical to the late restoration. Other causes, not quite so apparent, had also some share in his conduct. Fouché had sent emissaries to sound both him and Murat, and flattered himself that they would enter into his plan of forming an immediate coalition, to be composed of all the revolutionary elements in France and Italy,

and thus enable both these countries to oppose the grand one of sovereigns. The two brothers had been already reconciled, and Lucien, who was formerly the disciple and apostle of revolution, only saw the destruction of those changes introduced by that favourite doctrine, and which he had been taught to regard as indispensable, in the triumph of legitimacy. He plainly perceived that a very large party, not only in France, but every other part of civilized Europe, were about to be crushed by the coalition of kings; and therefore wished to aid its re-establishment by giving himself up to those men who could alone bring his brother back to empire. On this occasion, the senator thought he could share the power, and render himself so necessary to Buonaparte, that France, through his means, might be preserved from a return of tyranny, though the despot re-appeared. When the revolutionists of Paris consented to the recall of Napoleon, Lucien promised his co-opera-

tion, without, however, dissembling the danger, which he fully exposed to the emperor; and it was not until the latter had minutely detailed all his means of insuring success in the proposed enterprize, that the senator would agree to aid the cause with his advice.

For this purpose Lucien conferred personally with the agents of Napoleon, Murat and Fouché at Rome; all of whom met there to deliberate on the best means of raising France and Italy, in the name of the liberty and independence of nations. But it was during a visit which the Grand Marshal of the Palace, Bertrand, made to Rome, at the latter end of October, that this emissary of Napoleon, Thibaudeau, and Lucien discussed the plan of operations which should be adopted to insure the success of the conspiracy. These conferences also touched on the minor details connected with the mode of execution, precise period of landing in France, &c. Lucien was of opinion that the army should

only be recurred to as an instrument, insisting that his brother could never maintain himself in France, until he succeeded in identifying himself with the *party who espoused the cause of liberty and independence.* This party, according to the senator, was that of all the revolutionists; and he also thought they should recommence the revolution, taking care to restrain its excesses. No objects sacrificed to public vengeance, very few proscriptions, and a declaration of freedom, hitherto unknown to the most sanguine advocates of liberty: such were the views of Lucien. He also wished to surprize the public by a grand national convocation, which was to fix the hopes of the whole country. This assemblage was the famous Field of May, which is entirely due to Lucien; and the idea may be found very pointedly alluded to in several parts of his Charlemagne.

There was nothing whatever in these pro-

jects, likely to clash with the opinions of the revolutionary faction at Paris, who also wished to oppose Buonaparte's ascendancy over the military, by adopting the original principles of the revolution: once that two such powerful men as Lucien and Fouché, had agreed on the proposed measures, they had very little difficulty in regulating the final determination of Buonaparte, who could now do nothing without the prevailing faction's immediate support.

Napoleon, on his side, appeared closely to adhere to all that his brother recommended; but true to his natural character, he commenced by completely deceiving the senator; endeavouring to persuade the latter, that a sense of her own interests would induce Austria to second the enterprize; and that, moreover, he had already received an assurance, that both his wife and child would be sent to Paris in the event of its success. In threatening that power with a general rising

of the Italians, headed by Murat, said Napoleon, Austria, rather than run the risk of losing her possessions there, would consent to withdraw from the coalition, if ever so well inclined to oppose his re-establishment. As the execution of this calamitous plan seemed practicable in Lucien's eyes, he left the success of it to the fortunes of his brother: so that, apparently, he had merely a secondary part to play in the grand political drama, which was about to throw the cause of European liberty back for so many years. It was Joseph who assumed the most active agency in maturing the plot. This crowned adventurer, though destitute alike of talents or vigour of character, contrived, in the rage of disappointed vanity, and stimulated by his love of gold, to lay the first part of the train which produced the final explosion in France. Having previously fixed his residence at the castle of Prangrin, in Switzerland, that place became the head quarters,

for those conspirators who were employed to conduct the correspondence through the south of France, particularly Lyons, Grenoble, Dijon, and even on to the capital. Agents from Elba, despatched by Napoleon himself, used frequently to land on the coast of Provence, and proceed to Paris, without any molestation whatever. The plot was, in fact, at once civil and military; as persons who had formerly filled the situation of ministers, old counsellors of state, commissaries, clerks, and women of abandoned character, composed the pivot on which the infernal machine was known to move, and constituted its principal support. The conspirators, who had at first rejected every idea of restoring Napoleon, at length determined in his favour; merely to obviate the danger of hesitation or incoherency; for unanimity was indispensable to the success of their plan. It was not until the end of December that the generals, who had been initiated into the approaching

catastrophe, began to hold their first meetings at Paris.

From this time forward the conspiracy rapidly approached towards the consummation of one of its principal objects, the landing of Napoleon; without which, it appeared impossible to move the army in favour of the grand design, or affect the public mind, so as to produce a universal rising amongst the people. The plot was divided into two parts, that of Buonaparte's debarkation, and the insurrection of several garrisons in the northern departments, which were to march on the capital, and possess themselves of the royal family: this was to be effected by the aid of perfidy and treason, prepared with a degree of infamy altogether unworthy of the French character. The public is fully aware how amazingly the developement of this scheme was favoured by the blind confidence of the court, criminal neglect of

an infatuated ministry, and above all, by the public opinion of nearly all France.

A minute detail of the events, and rapid march which led to the inheritor of St. Louis being obliged to leave his capital at one gate, while Napoleon Buonaparte entered at the other, does not fall into the object proposed by these memoirs; the personage whom they more particularly concern, not having played a sufficiently active part in the first decisive movements of this famous plot, although he knew perfectly well what was going on, and waited impatiently at Rome for the result. Lucien had, however, scarcely heard of the landing, when he suddenly threw off the mask, which had hitherto made his sentiments appear somewhat doubtful, and even indifferent with regard to Napoleon. It is well known, that happening to be at the Princess of Wales's, who had just come from Naples, the senator gave such an account of his bro-

ther's movements, as none but a person intimately acquainted with facts could communicate: in the course of this conversation, he confidently stated that the latter would be at Grenoble on the 6th of March, at Lyons on the 8th, and in Paris on the 15th,* when there would be eighty thousand men under his command. By the foregoing assertion it is evident, that Lucien considered the revolution as completely effected.

On perceiving the Pope's alarm at the idea of that man's return, who had oppressed him for so many years, the Prince of Canino persuaded his sovereign, that he could always control the policy of Buonaparte, and preserve his holiness from any future aggression. The pontiff had already availed himself of Lucien's mediation, when Murat was marching a body of troops towards Rome, and

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* See Supplementary Appendix.

thought he should now confide the interest of his states, as well as those of religion, to the same hands. It was by this artifice that the senator obtained passports to traverse Italy. On procuring these, he entered France through Switzerland, and arrived at Paris late in April: here he continued in the utmost secrecy, having also preserved the strictest incognito on his journey from Rome. Although not one of his most intimate friends knew of Lucien's being in the capital for some time, he was nevertheless frequently at the Tuileries, and had many long conferences with Napoleon, by whom he was charged to conduct a negotiation of great moment with the British government: this failed even before the necessary passports were signed. The senator went down to the coast to wait for them, but not being allowed to cross the channel, he returned to Paris with the same secrecy he had left it. Lucien only stopped there a very short time,

and then pursued his route towards Switzerland. Quitting his incognito at Verloix, he remained near that town for some time, in expectation of his family's joining him, but this did not take place.'

The journey into Switzerland was concerted with Napoleon; for although the reconciliation was complete and sincere, it became necessary for Lucien to conceal it for the present, lest some obstacle should be thrown in the way of his family's leaving Rome. On the other hand, it was of the utmost consequence that his return to power should be so managed, as not to give umbrage to those persons who had seized the reins of administration for the time being, and under whom Napoleon himself had been obliged to serve a species of tutelage, having found it impossible to regain all his power at once. From Lucien's position in Switzerland, the emperor hoped the senator would be able to open secret negotiations with Austria, and

have greater facilities in stimulating the exertions of Murat.

But as events soon began to accumulate, and become daily more pressing, particularly when every hope of continuing at peace had vanished, and there was no longer any chance of dissolving the coalition, it was high time to think of opening the campaign. Environed with dangers, and threatened on every side, but full of confidence in the revolutionary energy of Lucien, Buonaparte determined to associate the senator with him in the government. Having decided on this step, the latter returned publicly to Paris, and his arrival was immediately announced in the journals.

The day after this piece of intelligence appeared, Napoleon sent a part of his own household to attend the Prince of Canino, and allotted the Palais Royal for his residence. This palace had been recently fitted up in the most sumptuous style, and was abun-

dantly supplied with all that a large establishment could require: a curious fabrication on the above subject appeared in the newspapers, professing to be a demand made by Lucien to have the seals taken off several apartments that remained shut, especially the cellars, and delivery of their contents to the discretion of the *Prince*. The editors, who wished to amuse the public by the above article, were no doubt well aware that in taking possession of the Palais Royal, Lucien did not require an order from the sovereign to appropriate its contents, including the wine, to his own use: besides, so far from attaching any importance to choice wines, he never drinks any thing stronger than water; and such is the senator's aversion to the smell of them or spirits, that lemons are invariably cut open and laid before him at table, to neutralize the olfactory effects of these articles. In travelling with Lucien, his companions have been frequently obliged to abstain

from drinking wine, as it is easy to perceive the odour is disagreeable, notwithstanding every precaution to prevent it.

Installed in his new habitation, Lucien sought for celebrity in three distinct capacities, that of prince, minister of state, and poet: all the public authorities hastened to compliment *his highness*, who studied to receive them with dignified politeness. In this respect the senator had a manifest advantage over his brother: no one could have a greater talent for blending ease and affability in his official communications than Lucien; so that he soon became the object of general applause in all the circles of the resuscitated court, as well as amongst the public functionaries: nor was adulation spared on this occasion; and a hireling newspaper, the *Journal de Paris*, which had but a few months before most severely criticised the poem of Charlemagne, now sang a fulsome palinode, containing an unbounded panegyric on the same

composition! This was done at the risk of diminishing the printer's claim to veracity, as will be seen by the following anecdote. M. Firmin Didot having presented himself at the Palais Royal soon after the arrival of his *imperial highness*, was shewn into the Prince; who began the conversation by asking, "Well! M. Didot, how does the book get on?" "Very badly, indeed, please your highness," replied the unfortunate bookseller: "the whole edition remains in the warehouse almost untouched."—"What!" said the author, "surely I have been criticised enough, to have given the public an *inclination* to read the poem; but never mind: as all the abuse they have hitherto heaped on my work has not increased the sale, the praises which our critics are now sure of bestowing on it, will be of more use; and I promise you, that we shall get rid of this edition in no time, when another will no doubt be called for." Thus ended the conversation, and it is

scarcely necessary to inform the reader, that the disaster at Waterloo soon destroyed the hopes of the poet and his publisher.

Lucien directed all his attention towards captivating those who had been chiefly instrumental in recalling his brother, or the men of the 20th of March, as they are now called; and found that popularity amongst them which Napoleon could only procure in the ranks of his soldiers. He also flattered himself that the latter, in being obliged to follow his plans, could only reign with and by him. To have twice enabled Buonaparte to seize the supreme power, could not fail to be a grand triumph for Lucien's pride; who also hoped to render his brother somewhat more docile in future. But on seeing the perils which surrounded Napoleon, the senator did not hesitate to tell him, that it was not sufficient to have the army, workmen of the suburbs, opulent emissaries, and dignified satellites; but that he should hasten to con-

federate the revolutionists, not only of the capital, but all the provinces; in order that a formidable league might be found, capable of opposing the royalists. Lucien had no difficulty in bringing over the confidential friends of Napoleon to this proposition: these supported the *federation* system, a watch-word newly coined, with more or less warmth, for the purpose of reviving the faction which had terrified France and the rest of Europe many years before. Such were the alledged motives for the Prince of Canino becoming an ardent supporter of the armed federations in the departments.

While occupied in giving advice to his brother, it was very generally reported that Lucien aspired to the ministry of the interior: but that the ministers most in favour, having become distrustful, and fearing lest he should obtain the direction of public affairs, secretly endeavoured to destroy his credit with Napoleon, and opposed his taking any part in the

administration. But this was not the case: no ministry, however exalted, was likely to suit the brother of him who had just seized the crown, much less Lucien, who was on the point of going into the great national assemblage in the Field of Mars, and shew himself so conspicuously near the usurper's throne. The fact is, that the senator's credit was no less real than his influence was active. He was present at all the privy councils and other conferences held by the members of the government, also whenever the leaders of the two chambers met. To him Napoleon left the difficult task of preparing the public mind, and surmounting difficulties: in a word, Lucien had undertaken the very troublesome and thankless office of a conciliator, between the parties of every cast, which having at first united to support Napoleon, seemed now desirous of contending the prize of power with him, and at all events of obliging the new government to compromise with

themselves. The Prince of Canino fully succeeded in gaining over Carnot, who of all the ministers, seemed to shew the senator most deference: these grand props of the restored dynasty were frequently together, and used to have very long interviews.

The election of Lucien to the chamber of deputies, made by the department of Isère, was about to create an enquiry as to the legality of a prince of the *imperial blood* being entitled to election in the lower house; but the question, by some means or another, was evaded. On opening the Chamber of Peers it was also remarked that Lucien, instead of sitting in the balcony destined for the princes of the *imperial family*, placed himself on the benches occupied by the ordinary members. It should, however, be recollected that he was not declared an imperial prince, either by the institutions of the empire, or any senatus consultum; and it will be seen by what follows, that a member of the pretended Cham-

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ber of Peers, availing himself of Lucien's equivocal title, succeeded in throwing out a question which emanated from the latter.

The senator's participation in all the measures of the day, was no longer doubtful, particularly when people knew that the *Journal de l'Empire* was placed under his auspices, as one of the papers most in circulation, and having the greatest effect in directing public opinion: this fact the editor thought proper to disavow, but not till after the report had been circulated for fifteen days, (rather a late denial, it must be confessed,) when the public felt perfectly satisfied of the assertion being strictly correct; for the press had not as yet been placed under those shackles which were afterwards qualified by the title of constitutional.

On the departure of Napoleon to open the campaign, June 12th, it was settled that while absent, all the power should remain in the hands of his most confidential friends,

A council of government was established under the presidency of Joseph: this was composed of the arch-chancellor, as minister of justice, some members of the administration, and a few counsellors of state. Lucien also took a seat in the above junta. Full of confidence in the usurper's fortune, and bravery of the troops, Lucien waited the event in perfect security; when, flying from the field of Waterloo, Napoleon suddenly arrived in Paris, and descended at the senator's residence, before he proceeded to the Elysée Bourbon. Lucien experienced a momentary stupor on hearing the disastrous result of the battle; but soon regaining his revolutionary energies, he wished to struggle against the event. Totally disapproving of his brother's having abandoned the army, Napoleon was recommended not to shew himself at Paris, but instantly return to the frontiers, and collect the scattered remnant of his troops: on this occasion Lucien observed with great warmth,

"You give up the game without having lost it!" Whatever opinion may be formed of the senator's advice, it was certainly in Buonaparte's power to unite those who retreated from Waterloo, with a part of the army of the Rhine, which had not been as yet engaged, and to oppose the other invaders by a well organized body of the federals.

But Napoleon seemed completely incapable of an energetic movement. Paralyzed as it were, by the unexpected reverse at Waterloo, he became wholly resigned to his evil destiny, while a powerful party was shortly to domineer over his adherents.

Lucien, in the mean time, did all he could to re-animate the drooping spirits of the council, as well as the most distinguished members amongst the peers and deputies. "This," said he, "is only the loss of a battle; and the death of thirty thousand men cannot decide the fate of France." This reasoning of the senator's was, however, too late: the

general panic had taken possession of those who had brought about the late change, and it was in vain that the Prince of Canino attempted to rally them. To some he pointed out the dangers and disgrace of broken faith; while others were emphatically reminded of the solemn promises they had made to his brother, eight days before the action, quoting at the same time a part of their address—"Reverses, Sire, cannot weaken our courage: they will, on the contrary, increase our attachment to your imperial majesty." Amongst the ministers, Carnot seemed to be the only person who remained a staunch supporter of the new government: a secret council being summoned, it was proposed to dissolve the two chambers; but the very imposing attitude assumed by that of the deputies, under Fouché's management, rendered the success of this scheme extremely improbable. Recourse was therefore had to negotiation: the ministers who had been retained at the

Elysée Palace received a second message, summoning them to appear in the chamber, which Napoleon at length authorized them to do. On going there, Lucien accompanied them as imperial commissioner, requesting, in the name of his brother, that the chamber should form itself into a committee of secrecy, for the purpose of receiving important communications.

On this the house was immediately cleared, and when the sitting became secret, Lucien rose, and read a message from Napoleon, containing a studied recital of the disaster which had befallen him at Waterloo; together with the subsequent events, none of which were concealed. The emperor recommended unanimity to the representatives; and concluded by announcing the formation of a commission, composed of Carnot, Fouché, and Caulincourt, which was to treat for peace with the coalesced powers. The perusal of this document was followed by a silence of

some minutes, till one of the deputies, Henry Lacoste, got up, and having entered into a short view of the abyss into which France had been plunged, ended by telling the assembly, that the safety of the country could alone be found in the energy of their own body. Lucien followed in the debate, and in trying to justify his brother, diminish the extent of his losses, &c. declared that the evils of France might still be repaired. "The emperor," added Lucien, "has yet several armies on foot, so that all is not lost." A general murmur soon reminded the speaker that the chamber did not partake of his confidence: upon this the senator called forth all his powers of oratory and persuasion: he even went so far as to invoke the national generosity, and that faith which had been placed in plighted allegiance; terminating a long harangue by conjuring the chamber above all things to avoid incurring the charge of that levity of which France had been so frequently

accused. At these words the indignation of the whole assembly burst forth, and M. de la Fayette rushed to the tribune, from whence he expressed his astonishment, that any one dare accuse the French people of levity or a changeable disposition! Addressing himself to Lucien, towards the end of a spirited discourse, the enraged deputy exclaimed, "Tell your brother, that the nation can no longer place any confidence in him; and that we shall ourselves endeavour to save that country, upon which he has drawn the vengeance of Europe."

Several other orators pointed out the same remedy, and the chamber having decided that measures of public safety should be taken that very night, Lucien and the ministers retired. On their return to the Elysée, uneasiness and alarm had spread through the palace; and the senator hurried from his carriage to the garden, in which Napoleon happened to be walking: on perceiving his

brother, the emperor turned pale, and as suddenly became flushed. "Well!" said he to the senator. This laconic exclamation had scarcely escaped Napoleon's lips, when Lucien conducted him into an adjoining arbour, where a person attached to the emperor's person heard the following dialogue between the two brothers.

LUCIEN.

Where is your firmness now? Why so irresolute? You must surely know what is the result of not daring to act under such circumstances?

NAPOLEON.

I have dared too much.

LUCIEN.

Too much and too little. Do so now for the last time.

NAPOLEON.

A tenth of November?

LUCIEN.

By no means. A constitutional decree. The laws give you the power.

NAPOLEON.

They no longer respect the constitution; and if they oppose the decree?—

LUCIEN.

Then they are rebels, and dissolved of their own accord.

NAPOLEON.

The national guard would come to their assistance.

LUCIEN.

The national guard has only a physical power of resistance. When called upon to act: the shopkeepers which compose it, will only think of taking care of their wives, daughters, and warehouses.

NAPOLEON.

If a tenth of November failed, it might cause another fifth of October.*

LUCIEN.

You deliberate when it is necessary to act; while they act without deliberating.

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* 1795.

NAPOLEON.

What can they do? They are mere talkers!

LUCIEN.

Public opinion is with them, and they could pronounce your forfeiture to the throne.

NAPOLEON.

The forfeiture!———They dare not!

LUCIEN.

They will dare every thing, if you dare nothing.

NAPOLEON.

Let us see Davoust.

Leaving the garden Napoleon returned to his cabinet, followed by Lucien: here the emperor remained plunged in a deep reverie, and shewing all the symptoms of irresolution, notwithstanding the pressing instances of the senator, who at length quitted the room, telling a secretary that was present, and

who betrayed considerable uneasiness at what he saw, "What's to be done? The smoke of Mount St. Jean has turned his brain: he is a lost man!" On saying this, he got into his carriage again, drove off to the Palais Royal, and there sat down to brood over his misfortunes, with scarcely a ray of hope remaining.

By this time, the government was completely divided in itself, and the abdication was openly talked of.

None of the intrigues or cabals which succeeded on this occasion escaped the attention of Lucien, who resisted them all, and violently opposed the above measure; constantly advising his brother to dissolve the chambers, and hold out to the last extremity. But it was all in vain: both the chambers and ministers had already forsaken Napoleon, and each party seemed to reject the influence of his brothers.

In this desperate state of things, Lucien

saw that there was but one plank upon which the family could be saved from the general wreck. This was in the natural succession which Buonaparte had still in his power to nominate. Carried away by the attractions of a regency, which seemed to be contemplated in the council, he made the proposal himself, and sustained it with great vigour. The majority of the ministers were also favourable to it: those who thought differently, not daring to oppose it openly, alledged that the measure was perhaps impolitic, on account of the negociations, which were about to be entered into with the allies.

Lucien also attempted to prevail on the two chambers to adopt his plan; but Fouché obtained a majority, when the Buonaparte faction lost all farther influence in the Chamber of Deputies. Deceived by the minister of police, and repulsed by the lower house, the Buonapartists, full of anger and resentment, went to their last resource at the

Luxembourg, entrenching themselves in the Chamber of Peers. It was there, and about ten at night, that they attempted to carry the regency question by assault.

The president, Cambacérès, first reminded the assembly, that Napoleon had abdicated only in favour of his son; immediately after this, Lucien took possession of the tribune, and boldly asserted, that, "The only question before the chamber is, whether France be a free and independent nation or not? Politically the emperor is dead: *Live the emperor!* The emperor has abdicated; still, *live the emperor!* Such is the basis on which a constitutional monarchy should repose." The above formula was borrowed from the maxims of the ancient political system.

The senator now demanded that those peers who had sworn the oath of fidelity to Napoleon and the constitutions of the empire, who had proclaimed them in the Field of May, before all France and Europe, should declare,

without deliberation, and by a spontaneous movement, in the face of the nation and foreign powers, that they recognized Napoleon II. as emperor. Several voices seconded the proposition; and Lucien concluded by repeating, that the oath of fidelity to his nephew ought to be forthwith taken with enthusiasm by all the members; and as a proof of sincerity, he would end his speech by performing what he so strenuously recommended to others: upon which the senator formally repeated the oath of fidelity to Napoleon II.

This proposition, which made it appear that Lucien had some idea of placing himself at the head of the regency, was set aside by a member, who became the organ of that party which neither wanted Napoleon II. or the legitimate dynasty; and without acknowledging the prince he wished to reign, M. de Pontecoulant asked, "upon what grounds does the Prince of Canino propose a sovereign to the French people? Is the Prince of Ca-

nino a Frenchman? Who says he is? He has no avowed title beyond that of a Roman prince." Here Lucien wished to interrupt the speaker. "Pardon me, prince," said the latter: "respect the equality of which you have given an example, that the chamber is fully sensible of; I mean that of your only sitting amongst the elected members." "It is not in this place, Mr. President," rejoined Lucien, with an air of resentment, "that I shall reply to the personalities with which the last speaker has thought proper to address me. He reproaches me with not being a Frenchman! I am one in sentiments at least! We are all placed here by the constitutions of the empire; and our oath in favour of Napoleon II. ought not to be the subject of deliberation, but of a manifesto, which cannot be made too soon, if we wish to avoid a civil war."

The debate continued with great animation for some time after, when the peers of

Buonaparte's creation adjourned the proposition of Lucien; but that which recommended the formation of a provisional government having prevailed, under the immediate influence of Fouché, it had the effect of destroying all the plans as well as hopes of Lucien. Convinced, therefore, that Napoleon had fallen, without any chance of rising again, and could not even escape the allies, if he did not seek a refuge beyond the seas, the senator insisted on his instant flight to the United States, where all his brothers should follow him. This resolution having been decided on between them, on the 25th of June, Lucien, who had retired to Neuilly, and lived at the country house of his sister Pauline, wrote the following letter from that place, which was intercepted, and soon after made public.

Neuilly, June 26th, 1815.

"You will have heard, my dear Pauline, the new misfortunes of the Emperor,

who has just abdicated in favour of his son. He is about to depart for the United States, where we shall all join him. His majesty is full of calmness and courage. I will endeavour to join my family at Rome, so as to accompany them to America. If your health permits, we shall meet there. Adieu, my dear sister. Mama, Joseph, Jerome and myself tenderly embrace you.

Your affectionate brother,

LUCIEN.

"P. S. I have retired to your beautiful country seat at Neuilly."

The danger now became daily more imminent for the Buonapartes, so that it was time for every one to provide for his own safety. Lucien having assumed the title of Count de Châtillon, went to Boulogne, where he retained a packet-boat, and remained there

while the negociations were going on with the allies. When on the point of embarking a courier arrived, charged with letters for the senator, which induced him immediately to change his plan; for before this he proposed crossing over to England, with a view of making another attempt to procure a safe conduct for himself and family, by which they could proceed to America.

The courier having brought a despatch, in which the inutility of the above attempt was demonstrated, Lucien determined to retrogade, and thereupon set off for Paris; but without delaying in the capital, took the road to Italy, once more changing his name to that of Count de Casali, under which he travelled towards Rome, attended by a very small retinue. It is not surprizing if Lucien's journey was one of the utmost inquietude: he thought himself surrounded by a thousand snares, and was in momentary apprehension of being arrested. Nor was it by any means

easy to traverse the Austro-Sardinian line of troops, which had just penetrated France by the Alpine frontier.

After having wandered for some days about the borders of Savoy, and more alarmed than ever lest he should fall into the hands of the royalists, Lucien adopted the plan of announcing himself to the advanced posts of General Count de Bubna, commander in chief of the Austrian corps which had taken possession of Lyons. Conducted before that officer he dined with him, and then prevailed on the general to allow an Austrian officer to accompany him to Turin. M. de Forestier, one of the count's aides-de-camps, was charged with the above mission. Thus accompanied, Lucien continued his route, and still retaining his name of Count de Casali, he arrived at Turin on the 12th of July, with the intention of going on to Rome. Scarcely, however, had he descended at the Hotel de l'Univers, than the commandant of the garrison, attended

by several officers, appeared, and conducted the senator to the citadel as a prisoner of state, a suite of rooms having been previously got ready for his reception. Lucien's wonted firmness seemed now to fail him. "I cannot conceive," cried the Prince of Canino, "why they should treat me as a prisoner: I, who have always opposed the ambitious designs of my brother, and who in this last instance was only induced to revisit France for the purpose of bringing him back to more moderate views." His fears were, however, soon dissipated by the arrival of letters from Paris and Rome; but more particularly owing to the apparent indulgence shewn by the allies to the inferior members of Napoleon's family. The senator earnestly solicited permission from the Sardinian government to proceed on his original journey; alledging, as one cause of his anxiety to be at Rome, the serious illness of Madam Lucien. To this application the Court of Turin replied, that the allied powers should

be addressed on the subject, as his being allowed to depart must entirely depend on their will and pleasure. While this correspondence was going on, the Prince of Canino was treated with all imaginable respect, though in captivity.

The extreme deference of his Sardinian majesty towards Lucien on this occasion, was attributed to some pecuniary services which the latter rendered to the king his brother, who had retired to Rome after his abdication. As this assertion is not strictly correct, we shall rectify it. The war and other circumstances having, at one time, prevented Charles Emanuel from receiving the annual pension of fifty thousand Roman crowns, which he had retained for his personal wants, he experienced some temporary embarrassment: on Lucien's hearing the circumstance, Cardinal Fesch, at that time ambassador at Rome, was directed by the senator to supply the king with whatever

money he wanted, tendering this piece of service merely as a duty performed by the French government. His Sardinian majesty refused the offer at first; but afterwards agreed to accept it, on condition that the sum thus received, should be considered as a loan, which he was to give a written acknowledgment for, and it was accordingly reimbursed shortly after.

A decision of those ministers who represented the four principal powers, England, Austria, Russia and Prussia, at Paris, soon led to Lucien's release, and enabled him to proceed to Rome; where it was stipulated, that he should remain under the superintendence of the papal police, and on the express condition of his not quitting the Roman states. The intervention of Pius VII. was particularly favourable to Lucien in this dilemma: indeed, the holy father seems to have exhausted Christian charity in favour of the senator.

Leaving Turin on the fifteenth of September, 1815, accompanied by a Piedmontese officer, and passing through Modena, the Prince of Canino was once more restored to the arms of his anxious wife and family.

Here Lucien seemed at first resigned to his fate, and even appeared to meditate somewhat philosophically on the vanity of human wishes. The senator's conduct was also exceedingly circumspect; but whether he did not consider himself as sufficiently free at Rome, or that his ardent mind began to indulge in some new projects of ambition, a most pressing application for passports to the United States of America, was made by him towards the end of 1816. Soon after which it was discovered, that having deliberated on this request, the allied ministers sent a qualified refusal, deciding that he should still continue under the inspection of the police at Rome.

Having thus fulfilled the task proposed,

and conducted our hero to the last eventful scene of his political life, we trust the pledge given in the introduction to these Memoirs, has been amply redeemed; and that the authentic sources from whence our materials have been drawn, will tend in no trifling degree to the elucidation of a subject, which has hitherto created opinions with respect to the Buonaparte family, as foreign to truth as they are injurious to the best interests of society. It is also hoped that while the minor details of this work have contributed to the reader's amusement, the historical records and reflections which accompany them, will not be altogether without their effect in aiding the great cause of morals and public liberty: by holding vice up to well merited reproach, exemplifying its short-lived triumph, and above all, shewing the real motives that have actuated the conduct of a family, which might have still enjoyed the highest dignities in Europe, had the individuals composing it,

betrayed a greater regard for virtue, and listened to the prophetic voice of that PUBLIC OPINION, to which their fall can alone be attributed!

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

[*We beg to direct the attention of the reader to the following Supplement, and particularly to the first letter, written by a distinguished nobleman, who was intimately connected with M. Lucien Buonaparte.*]

SUPPLEMENT.

LETTER

TO

THE PUBLISHER

OF

LUCIEN BUONAPARTE's MEMOIRS.

SIR,

I HAVE read the Memoirs you have just printed, with the greatest attention; and from my long intimacy with the principal personage whom they concern, I am enabled to say they are extremely correct: with the exception, however, of several calumnies which seem to have been added, relative to Madam Joubertheau, Lucien Buo-

naparte's present wife; and which tend to disfigure a work, that is, in other respects, eminently calculated to excite public curiosity.* Had I been acquainted with your intention of publishing, before the work went to the press, I should have endeavoured to prevail on you to retrench those useless details, which seldom aid the cause of history.

It would also have been very easy to give greater illustration and developement to the principal events, by the addition of various

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* To judge of these calumnies it will be sufficient to cite the case of M. de Châtillon, who is placed in the list of Madam J.'s lovers: this young man is indebted for all he has in the world to Lucien's bounty, and has never ceased to give his patron the greatest proofs of fidelity and attachment. Nor is he the son of a valet de chambre, as represented in the Memoirs, but of a major in the army, who was formerly commandant of the castle of Doulens in Picardy. His mother, as the widow of an officer and chevalier of St. Louis, is allowed a pension to this day.

facts, which can now only appear in the form of notes. These I send, as they occurred to me in reading the most striking passages in the work; and you are at liberty to make whatever use you think proper of them: they relate rather to motives than actions, for our intentions should also go for something in estimating those actions which result from them. For although nothing can justify a departure from moral rectitude, every thing that occurs in a political revolution may be accounted for; and it frequently happens, that an action which appears criminal or inconsiderate, if judged by what people merely hear from vague authority and idle report, was the natural consequence of a concatenation of events which were only known to those more immediately concerned. The life of Lucien Buonaparte is replete with instances of the above description.

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POVERTY OF THE BUONAPARTE FAMILY.

Previous to the 5th of October, 1795, when Napoleon distinguished himself in defending the National Convention from that popular fury which assailed them, Madam Letitia and her three daughters retired to Marseilles, where they lived in a small lodging with scarcely more than one apartment, deriving their principal support from the scanty pittance which the French government allowed to the Corsican emigrants. Joseph, her eldest son, afterwards King of Naples and Spain, had married Mademoiselle Clary, the daughter of a merchant in the above city. Napoleon, the second son, proposed for another of her sisters, now Queen of Sweden, and was refused, on the ground that *one Buonaparte was enough in the same family.* While on his way to assume the command in Italy, Napoleon visited his mother and sisters,

whom he found at table eating hard eggs, without bread, and using pewter forks: this stupified the general, who, taking Madam Letitia by the hand, said, "*a very different prospect is open to us, mother; and if you'll only have patience to wait the event, I'll take care and hasten it's arrival.*

Page 29.

CONSTANCY OF LUCIEN'S DOMESTIC AFFECTIONS.

Few men have ever manifested more stability in their domestic attachments than Lucien Buonaparte. Neither length of time, absence, or even injuries, can diminish those sentiments of esteem, which he has once felt towards his more immediate connections; particularly when they are excited by the weaker sex. The exalted fortune of both Lucien's wives, was due to the confidence they placed in his character: he was always anxious

to raise them in public estimation, because he knew all their ambition was centered in himself; and the most ingenious artifices, or greatest domestic virtue, would not have served their cause so well with Lucien. His second partner has particular reason to congratulate herself on the exercise of this sentiment; for to such a degree did Lucien carry his delicacy with regard to Madam Joubertheau, that he refused her reiterated solicitations to make several concessions favourable to his personal interests; because he was satisfied they arose from the warmth of her affections.

Page 73.

NAPOLEON'S SPEECH AGAINST THE DIRECTORY.

This harangue was re-printed at Paris, and clandestinely circulated at the period of M. Lâiné's resistance to Buonaparte, and when the Legislative Body was dissolved in 1814.

Page 78.

CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON.

It is either out of ignorance or ill nature, that Napoleon has been accused of wanting courage before the enemy. While on the field of battle, he has always conducted himself like a man of genius, and as a commander in chief should do, occupied in reconnoitering all the movements of the enemy, and directing these of his own troops. On these occasions Buonaparte makes a point of going where he can best watch the enemy's motions, so that the danger depends altogether on the nature of the ground. Napoleon would remain on a steeple, or a distant rising ground while a battle lasted, if his dispositions could be made with equal effect from it, as from any other point: if, on the contrary, his personal exertions were requisite, he would launch into the thickest part of the fight, as he did at *Eylau, Essling,* and *Champ Aubert.*

The sole object of Buonaparte's thoughts in battle is the success of the day; having always thought danger absolutely below his consideration, and only worthy of a school-boy's attention. In fact, Napoleon has faced it without the least repugnance or affectation. But these observations do not apply to the perilous chances which spring from civil contention: the ex-emperor could never get over the alarming effects created in his mind by popular commotions; for besides his being so little accustomed to such scenes, they deprive him of his military resources, and that superiority which he would have in the field. Such is the effect of strong passion in Buonaparte, that it destroys his oratorical power, and he does not like to rely on an ascendancy which is too dearly purchased, while it may be very easily lost. This will account for the state in which Lucien saw him on coming out of the Council of Five Hundred; at which time his brother was pale,

walking with a hurried pace, and apparently incapable of the smallest decision. It was then that the former exclaimed, "well! what are you thinking about? Give me a horse, that I may address the people; order the drums to beat, and direct your grenadiers to turn those beggarly scoundrels out of the hall!" These words had the desired effect. Napoleon recovered from his stupor, and faithfully obeyed the mandate of his brother.

Page 95.

THE NINTH OF NOVEMBER, 1799.

It is by no means evident that had Lucien remained in the president's chair on the above memorable day, it would have rendered his conduct more useful or honourable. In a revolution success is every thing.

Ayez-le, c'est d'abord ce que vous lui devez;
Puis, vous l'estimerez après, si vous pouvez.

When the state of corruption in which all our institutions had fallen, during the preceding ten years, and those melancholy scenes which now awaken the just horrors of France and Europe is considered, few would be inclined to rank a modern deputy, no matter of what assembly, patiently waiting assassination on his Curile chair, to a Roman senator; particularly if the former was about to fall a victim to a popular commotion, which had been brought about to serve his own views of ambition. An impartial observer would in this case be rather inclined to acknowledge that his adversaries might as well perish as himself; whilst the latter in aspiring to power might render it useful to the state: and this is what the Buonaparte family did during the first years of its elevation. Had Lucien remained in the hall, the decree of outlawry must have passed against his brother; in which event, from the little knowledge the soldiery and people had of the

circumstance, the issue of the day would have become very uncertain. It was necessary to profit by every moment, and by all possible means to avoid delay of any kind. It was a revolution amongst revolutionists that the Buonaparte faction had to make: an operation which is much more difficult, than if it had been against an acknowledged party; and Lucien amply proved on that extraordinary occasion that he was profoundly versed in the mechanism of civil broils.

Page 105.

LUCIEN'S POLITICS.

Although the Prince of Canino never varied in his wish of seeing Napoleon attain the highest possible rank amongst sovereigns, he was convinced, it was impossible to maintain it without the establishment of liberal institutions, and minutely conforming to the spirit

of the age: also, that when after his death, the military power fell into other hands, there was not one of his family who could support the weight of this immense inheritance. Lucien therefore felt anxious to fix it on a more solid basis, or transfer it to other hands: such were the motives of his late conduct in returning to Paris with Napoleon in 1815.

Page 140.

QUARREL BETWEEN LUCIEN AND NAPOLEON.

In a similar dispute which took place between the two brothers, some years after the one alluded to, Napoleon throwing down a snuff-box on which the portraits of Josephine, Madam Hortensia, and her eldest son were painted; exclaimed, "I could serve you the same just as easily." On this, Lucien merely looked at the box, and without being the least disconcerted, coolly observed, "well,

brother Napoleon, I can only say, three very pretty portraits have suffered innocently."

Page 111.

LUCIEN'S PROJECTS.

One of Lucien Buonaparte's most remarkable qualities, was that of his possessing a species of revolutionary prescience, and a knowledge of the ground, as it were, which was totally unknown to Napoleon. The former was always before-hand with events, while his brother generally remained far behind them: however, a contrary feeling prevailed as to all military enterprizes; in which the Prince of Canino always doubted the success of his brother, while the latter undertook the most desperate affairs without the least uneasiness. The union of two such men must have been of

the greatest use to both; particularly as their interests and ultimate fate were inseparably allied: this would have given Napoleon more boldness in political affairs at home, and created less confidence in the success of his foreign expeditions. The truth of this assertion was exemplified in a variety of instances. Lucien wrote to his brother, long before the famous ninth of November, telling him that he had only to make his appearance in France, and every thing would be in his hands. When that day arrived, it was the Prince of Canino who cheered and kept him from yielding to surrounding dangers. During the six months he was minister of the interior, Lucien may be said to have completely lorded it over the whole nation, from having concentrated his administration; finally, on the publication of his parallel between *Monck*, *Cromwell* and *Buonaparte*, it was evident he wished Napoleon to decide, and seize the crown at once. "The royalists go for nothing,"

said he to his brother; "and as to the republicans, none of them are sincere: besides, they merely want to provide for their future existence, which you can easily effect without putting yourself in their power: in fact, they are only formidable because you seem to fear them." This was a just observation of Lucien's: for principles were no longer considered; personal interest was the only thing thought of at this time, and distrust alone prevented the different parties from making any concessions to each other. The jacobins even wished to conciliate Napoleon, and would have most willingly made the first advances, if the consul would only promise his guarantee. In Lucien they saw with pain, a man who despised their assistance, and that felt he did not want any connection with them. It was on this account, that they laboured so hard to inspire the newly elected chief with alarm, persuading him that he would lose all by precipitation, and that the

time for occupying the throne had not yet arrived. So that the enterprize was for the moment declared hair-brained and dangerous; Lucien was, therefore, removed to a distance. It was the same faction which influenced Napoleon's conduct in putting the Duke d'Enghien to death: and that unfortunate prince was a victim, which Lucien would most certainly never have accorded to them, not only from his horror of the crime, but extreme inutility of the sacrifice.

Page 118.

PROJECTED ALLIANCE WITH SPAIN.

This marriage emanated from those ideas of Lucien in favour of his brother's exaltation which are noticed in the preceding article, and by no means from any hatred towards the Beauharnois family, as people supposed. In proposing the match, the Prince of Canino

considered it as a grand piece of political wisdom, which insured the throne to Buonaparte, in giving him the assent and support of a part of the ancient dynasty. If realized, this scheme would have merely occasioned a partition in the natural order of succession, and not a total invasion of the original family's inheritance. It was also the effect of Jacobinical distrust that caused the failure of this project, and not the ascendancy of the Beauharnois family; although they may have contributed towards it with the former faction.

Page 180.

CAUSE OF JOSEPH'S REFUSING THE CROWN OF ITALY.

It was the crown, and not the viceroyalty of Italy that Joseph refused; and that on the account of the emperor's requir-

ing him to relinquish his claim to be considered as a grand elector of the empire, which gave him a presumptive one to the crown of France. The rejection was also concerted with Lucien, who at the same time refused the Grand Duchy of Parma. Napoleon wished to set the two latter aside, and place them in foreign countries, while the sons of Louis were destined exclusively to share the succession. But the two brothers would not consent to give up their rights, though well aware of the difficulties which they would have in substantiating them. Strange as it may appear, the above refusal caused the declaration of Austria in 1806. That war would not have taken place, had Lombardy been formed into an independent state: whereas by Napoleon's placing the iron crown on his own head, he removed every intermediate barrier between himself and Austria.

Page 183.

DUKE D'ENGHIEN'S DEATH.

The melancholy fate of this prince was communicated to Lucien by General Hullin, a relation of Madam Joubertheau, who called on her a few hours after the affair was perpetrated, and seemed horror-struck at the event. The military commission which tried the duke, is said to have been informed that Napoleon merely wished to prove his power, and would certainly pardon the prince. Some of the Emperor's attendants had even repeated the following lines from *Alzire*, to a part of the members.

Des dieux que nous servons, connaîs la difference,
Les tiens t'ont commandé le meurtre et la vengeance ;
Et le mien, quand ton bras vient de m'assassiner,
M'ordonne de te plaindre et de te pardonner !

A person to whom Lucien told the sad

tidings, happening to exclaim, "But who could have persuaded the first consul to commit so dreadful an act?" "Those," replied Lucien, "who had hitherto retarded his elevation, and now wished to make him purchase it by the commission of a crime: he is all powerful, and submits to humiliations which would make weakness blush." And in effect, twenty-four hours had not passed, before Napoleon repented the step he had taken; but he was inebriated with power, and it soon made him forget the means by which it was attained.

Page 180.

LUCIEN'S PROJECT OF OPENING A NEGOCIATION WITH THE BOURBONS.

Previous to Lucien's settling at Canino, he passed some time at Rome and Frascati, where he had purchased Cicero's Villa. It was at that tranquil retreat, in the midst

of his family, and a few select friends, that the prince began seriously to reflect on his future destiny as well as that of France: these led to the adoption of a plan from which he never afterwards deviated. Lucien never relied on the stability of his brother's fortune, however dazzling it appeared to others: feeling that there were no bounds to his ambition, he foresaw that difficulties would accumulate on Napoleon's head, to such a degree, that he could no longer bear up against them. This idea prevented Lucien's yielding to the repeated instances of his friends to be reconciled, much more than any motives of personal resentment. In daily expectation that an account of Napoleon's death would be brought, occasioned either by a plot, accident, or bullet from the enemy, Lucien often interrogated himself as to what was likely to become of France in such a case; how the family could act, and if there was any one capable of succeeding a similar colossus, or able to bear an equal burthen?

These reflections were followed by an enquiry into the general state of things, in the course of which Lucien endeavoured to ascertain what would be most likely to consolidate the interests of the revolution, and restore peace to Europe as well as France. This most desirable change, Lucien could only perceive in re-establishing the house of Bourbon; but on a different basis, divested of all the old abuses, without any pretext for, or means of re-action, and in concert with the other powers of Europe. Such was the Prince of Canino's conviction as far back as 1806. The above train of thought made him desirous of entering into some explanation with the members of that family, not for the purpose of making any specific proposal; but to give his opinion which could be more fully discussed when the period he anticipated should arrive. In furtherance of this design, an intimate friend of Lucien's was charged with the preliminary communications, and left Paris for the pur-

pose of making them; but the emperor suspecting that an intrigue of some kind or another was going on, caused the agent to be arrested at Troyes in Champagne: however, as nothing tending to confirm Napoleon's suspicions appeared in his papers, the former was satisfied with exiling him to his estate.* This gave rise to the negociation's going on through London, and by other persons, which delayed it considerably, giving time for the quarrel of the brothers to become more violent, and at length obliging the Prince of Canino to seek shelter in the United States. Failing in the foregoing design,

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*The papers which if discovered would have compromised Lucien's agent, were, amongst others, a passport for Vienna from Count Cobentzel, made out in the name of a German; and letters of credit from M. Doyen, a Parisian banker, in the above capital. The latter formed an envelope to some children's play-things, which might be taken for those of Lucien's own family.

Lucien confined himself to an expression of his sentiments with regard to the Bourbon dynasty, as contained in several passages of Charlemagne. The few persons, who had been informed of these circumstances, were naturally enough much astonished at the very little eagerness displayed by Lucien on the restoration, to profit by a conduct which gave him such high claims to the notice and protection of the present royal family of France; but these individuals were unacquainted with the proud and singular character of the man. He doubtless wished to restore the Bourbons; but that was to be effected by his own efforts, though not purchased by the ruin of his family, or, as he imagined, by a counter-revolution.

While Napoleon continued to be the oppressor of his people, and terror of Europe, Lucien did not regard him in the light of a brother; but when adversity had overtaken the emperor, he ceased to be considered as the

scourge of mankind. He therefore made a point of reversing the usual maxim of the world, in turning towards his relative when fortune had abandoned him; and shewing that attachment in the hour of disaster and disgrace, which was denied to the tyrant in prosperity and power. Although nothing remains to prove that he contributed to the return of Napoleon in 1815, it cannot certainly be denied, that once acknowledged by the people of France, he came to second his efforts and participate in his fate. There is, doubtless, some incoherency in such conduct; but will it be denied, that there is not something more than ordinary in the character of a man, who has always, and by deliberation as it were, ranged himself on the side of the weak and oppressed? Is there no merit due to him, who has successively sacrificed himself for his wife, liberty, the Pope, Bourbons; and finally, to him who may be said to have been his persecutor for many years?

VOL. II. *Page* 88.

ERROR OF LUCIEN AS TO THE STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN FRANCE.

One of Lucien's errors, on his return to France, was that of supposing the people capable of displaying the energy by which they were animated during the revolution. The elements of that period had undergone a total change; and the Prince of Canino's fifteen years of exile, prevented him from judging what lassitude and oppression can produce on a nation in such a period. He forgot that highly important truth, which has been exemplified in more than one nation of modern Europe, viz.—THAT SERVITUDE DISPOSES MEN TO SLAVERY, BECAUSE IT EXHAUSTS AND FINALLY DESTROYS THOSE POWERS, WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO THE EXISTENCE OF FREEDOM. The grand determinations of a people, arise from two distinct causes: being driven to absolute desperation, by a corrupt govern-

ment; or, in their possessing a super-abundance of wealth and physical strength. Neither of these extremes operated on the people of France; and with the exception of those departments which had suffered by the war, not a man would stir from voluntary impulse; nor were there any remains of opposition amongst the Vendeans. Throughout France, the people had become the spectators, instead of the instruments of revolution. France might, in fact, be compared to the calf in the fable, who stands patiently looking on the combat, which is to decide to whom it belongs. When defeated, Buonaparte should only have relied on those who endeavoured to insure him victory. He should never have quitted them for an instant, but endeavoured by them, and with them, to regain the advantages he had lost. Besides, when the revolution began, the French army was composed of the whole nation, acting against mercenary troops and imbecile cabinets: latterly it was the whole of Europe

en masse, and stimulated by the overwhelming force of public opinion, which precipitated themselves on an enfeebled army, which had exhausted the resources and destroyed the enthusiasm of the nation. The struggle being no longer equal, there could be no doubt of its consequences, and Lucien Buonaparte was cruelly deceived, in imagining that he could again find those revolutionary instruments, which he had formerly handled with no less talent than dexterity: the chords now only yielded feeble sounds, and the power of touching them with effect had passed to other hands!

I am, &c.

* * * *

Letter from the Bishop of Orthosia to M. de Talleyrand, Archbishop of Rheims, dated Rome, 15th of March, 1815.

My Lord,

You are doubtless already acquainted with the flight of Buonaparte, and we have just heard that he was at Digne in Provence on the fourth instant.

This escape has enabled us to know the character of those who are about us better than ever. There are many Jacobins at Rome, who are delighted with the event, and have circulated the most absurd reports; nor are the English less gratified on this occasion: the latter in affecting a species of ironical commiseration towards us, conclude by exaggerating the means of Napoleon, and the great number of discontented in France. They, in fact, already consider him as perfect master of every thing in that country. When they ask why we had not kept some ships con-

stantly on the look out off Elba? And we reply by wishing to know whether they had not some themselves, and even a commissioner in the island? they immediately answer, "we were not entitled to stop him." "And why did you send any one there, or keep your ships cruizing about the island?" I once asked a son of the famous Lord North, who passes for a man of some talent in this place, "It may be readily imagined," said I, "that if Buonaparte had been out with only a single vessel, you might have remained ignorant of the circumstances; but when you saw a fleet of seven sail, containing fifteen hundred armed men, together with cavalry, the first duty of a naval commander would surely have been, to ask who they were, where going, &c.? You may as well confess that this is a job of your own. Happily the period of philanthropy with your allied sovereigns has gone by; and it is for us to appreciate their kindness: acknowledge, Sir,

that your nation is jealous of seeing our prosperity revive." To this there was not a word in reply, upon which I changed the subject.

On the other hand, the court of Rome made sure of our government's being overturned. Buonaparte's proclamations invite nations to become free; and his mother, while yet at Porto-Ferrajo with Madam Bertrand, told some Englishmen who went to see her, that her son would no longer fight to conquer, and intended, moreover, to grant an honourable peace to Great Britain. These English are a detestable set, and there is scarcely one of those who have come to Italy, that did not visit Buonaparte at Elba, where they continue to go even now that he has left it, merely to see his mother. At Rome, they have suffered forty-six cases belonging to Madam Letitia, to enter the city without being subjected to any examination whatever.

Yesterday, while at the Marchioness Massinci's, sister to the Duchess d'Eselignac,

Cardinal Fesch said, that Buonaparte had already got an army of fifty thousand men; that Massena had declared for him, and thirty of the departments sent deputies to the island of Elba, inviting his return to France, and that the ex-emperor was in his glory. This man is against the Bourbons on all occasions: he is unworthy of being archbishop of Lyons; and I trust your excellency will find some means or other to get him turned out. He is an enemy of the king; and to form an idea of his principles hear his servants. In January last he refused the ambassador's invitation to go and hear the mass at St. John of Lateran, on the feast of St. Lucia, and to the memory of Henry IV. Although so well treated by our envoy, who has asked him to dinner twice, he has scarcely returned the compliment by calling. For my part, I have never asked him to put his legs under my table; and when we meet at the ambassador's I would scarcely him.

Lucien, who till this moment, seemed indifferent to the whole business, now makes common cause with old Fesch. The day before yesterday, when he went to see the Princess of * * *, just returned from Naples, he made use of the most indecorous language, and even gave the itinerary of Napoleon's movements; stating, that he would be at Grenoble on the 6th, at Lyons on the 8th, and in Paris on the 15th; also that he must have at least eighty thousand men by this time.

I don't know what to make of this Princess of * * *; she is flying about like a will-o'-the-wisp, and sets off again to-day without ever looking at Rome, for the purpose of embarking at Ancona. During the two last evenings, Fesch and Lucien have been constantly seated on each side of her, nor would she see any one but a few English, and some foreign ministers: there was not a single Frenchman admitted. As to the

Pope, he has made it up with Murat; that is to say, his holiness has knuckled down, and retracted. It is only a month ago, that he cut off all communication by post with Naples, and even seized the letters, addressed to that city, causing them to be forcibly taken out of the office; since which, things have remained in the same state until yesterday, when, to our great surprize, the Neapolitan post was re-opened. By all this, your excellency will perceive that it is only France that can get nothing here. This is because we don't speak with the firmness and dignity which becomes a great power.

Lucien Buonaparte, Cardinal Fesch, Louis and his wife, are the zealous protectors of that Isoard, who this rascally court wishes to retain as one of the ecclesiastical members for France, and who is in regular correspondence with them; and according to his valet, who is waiting for him, he tells all the world that they are urging his master to return to

Rome. The envoys of Austria and Spain can get whatever they want, because they are always threatening.

How do you think the Pope was induced to knuckle down to Murat? Why, the latter ordered his consul to demand passports; and told the Pope, in a letter addressed from himself to his holiness, that he wished to march some troops through his territories, which was refused, however; by the Pope's minister pointing out another route. It is no more than proper that his majesty should be acquainted with all these things.

The present communication should have reached your lordship sooner, but they never had the civility to tell me at the legation, that M. de Beaufremont was passing, remained eight hours here, and even dined with the ambassador, where I was not asked.

A thousand tender respects to your excellency from

THE BISHOP OF ORTHOSIA.

P. S. The Pope has not answered the letter from the Bishops, forwarded to Gonsalvi, because you all signed it as titulars of your diocese: in other respects it was highly approved of.

M. Isoard, whose name has been mentioned in the above letter, belonged to a parliamentary family of Provence. Napoleon had appointed him as the French ecclesiastical auditor at Rome, after the concordat led to the old relations being renewed between the two countries; so that he succeeded the Abbé de Bayonne, who is now a cardinal. It is true enough that M. Isoard enjoyed the regard of many of the Buonapartes, particularly Lucien, with whom he was on the most friendly terms. We shall not pretend to justify the ambition which this gentleman betrayed to retain a confidential situation, to

which the king had just named another; and still less should we be disposed to excuse him, if that ambition, his interests or attachments, carried him farther after the 20th of March. But we are totally ignorant on this point, and cannot therefore form a correct judgment on it. Justice, however, obliges us to say, that steady and decorous conduct, integrity and correctness of demeanour, had procured the highest degree of respect and consideration for M. Isoard while at Rome. Without any personal fortune, all the emoluments of his situation were liberally expended;—his establishment was excellent, and charities numerous. There are two facts, connected with this gentleman's character, which deserve particular notice. A man, who kept a shop for the retail of wines under the auditor's palace, thinking he could profit by the immunities attached to the houses of foreign agents or ambassadors, asked M. Isoard's permission to keep his door open somewhat later than

usual on a feast-day. The request was accordingly granted as a matter of course:—however, the patrole of police did not fail to visit the spot at night, but retired directly the permit of M. Isoard was shewn. Two days after the governor made some observations to the auditor, on the infraction of those rules which were established for the preservation of the peace, and security of individuals during the night, which the ambassadors themselves did not interfere with. M. Isoard, seeing that he had been deceived, insisted that the culprit should undergo the penalty incurred by offenders in such cases:—this was about two thousand six hundred francs, and several months' imprisonment. Having underwent the latter, the auditor, considering himself as a participator in the fault, paid the fine, though far from being rich at the time.

The second trait proves M. Isoard's integrity as a public functionary. The tribunal to which he belonged being occupied in the

trial of a criminal case, the accused happened to be a brother of a female servant in the house of Lucien Buonaparte. This woman, who was a great favourite with her mistress, received the latter's permission to present herself before M. Isoard, to plead for the culprit. Impressed with a sense of what he owed to his capacity of judge, the auditor refused even to see the person who had been thus sent; and officiated in the cause uninfluenced by any degree of prepossession towards either party, for which he did not fail to incur the dissatisfaction of Madam Lucien, who manifested so much coolness on the occasion, that the judge thought it prudent to keep away from the palace for some time, until reflection convinced the senator's lady that M. Isoard's conduct entitled him rather to an increase of her esteem than otherwise.

Extract of a Letter from Cardinal Fesch to the Princess Borghese.

Paris, June 23, 1815.

"Lucien set off for London yesterday, in order to procure passports for the rest of his family.

"Joseph will wait for his passports; Lucien has left his second daughter here, and who only arrived from England a few days ago:—she will not remain long. I foresee that the United States will terminate all our wanderings. I think you ought to continue in Italy; but remember that character and reputation are the greatest blessings with which the Creator has enriched your family. Endeavour, therefore, to rise above misfortune; nor should you consider it as any sacrifice to adopt a system of the strictest eco-

nomy. At present we are all poor, notwithstanding what we possessed last year. Your mother and brothers embrace you, and so do I with all my heart, and that attachment for which you know me.

Your affectionate uncle,

CARDINAL FESCH."

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY

LUCIEN BUONAPARTE,

WHILE A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY, &c.

EXTRACT OF A SPEECH ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE DECADIS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

I AM about to recur to immutable principles, which cannot be unknown to this august assembly. I intend to support the opinion of our colleague Creuzé-Latouche. We should, in the first place, make a distinction between the propositions which have been made to you. The *decadis* is said to be the only national holiday, and republican

feast-day we have: be it so, and let us consecrate it by a law; but we have no right to prevent a citizen from celebrating any day which may be indicated by his profession of faith. Can we order a freeman to work on any particular day? Are we justified in telling a republican, "You shall work on such a day, no matter of what religion you are." Representatives, tolerance is the sister of liberty, and persecution the daughter of tyranny. Even at Rome, and under the Papal domination, have you ever heard of a sect, which I need not name, being forced to work on a Saturday? And we, the representatives of a free people, shall we, I ask, allow less scope for the unshackled exercise of religion than the Roman Pontiff? It is not many days since you declared that the decadis and national feast-days were those of repose throughout the republic; and now a measure, already opposed and rejected, is again brought forward. Penetrated like yourselves,

with a hatred the most rooted for the bigotry of fanatics, and blindness of sectaries, I am decidedly against the propositions in question.

Three different proposals have been made in this assembly. The first tended to declare that the decadis were the only days of repose; the second merely extended the proposed law to shopkeepers; while the third requires that the shops shall only be opened on market and fair-days. All these propositions deserve a minute examination, and merit your utmost attention; not so much on their own particular account, but as they affect the general good, our political situation, and final tranquillity of the Republic.

The first amendment has declared the day on which the decadis falls to be the only one of repose: this measure I consider unprecedentedly inquisitorial. I open the code of all tyrannies, I examine the acts of every usurper the world has seen, without being

able to find one solitary example of such a violation of personal liberty .....

I am desirous of touching on all the amendments which have been proposed, and shewing the danger of them, since they have found advocates in this assembly. They are closely connected with individual liberty, and sufficiently important, I should imagine, to call for an impartial and profound examination. Some members have been suffered to speak in their favour, let others be allowed to combat them .....

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE TEMPLE OF MARS—

(INVALIDS,)

On the Anniversary Day of the French Republic, 22d September, 1800.

CITIZENS,

A few months have scarcely elapsed since that day on which the 14th of

July was celebrated in this Temple, and already the anniversary of the republic brings us to it once more. These two festivals are separated by a very short interval. How many grateful thanks should we not have had to render, if the Eternal had placed the 14th of July, 1789, and the 21st of September, 1792, within the same year! How is it that, by tearing a few leaves out of our history, we cannot trace the foundation of the republic to the capture of the Bastille, and destroy every vestige of those days in September, which recall the Sicilian vespers to mind, Saint Bartholomew, and all the scenes which history has transmitted to terrify posterity?

But such, Citizens, is the effect of popular commotions, in which elements the most opposite seem as it were to amalgamate, and become reconciled. On these occasions the worst and most criminal actions precede and follow traits the most generous and disinterested. Thus it is that good and evil are mingled in

our earthly abode. The gifts of fortune are seldom spontaneously given to mortals, they are generally sold at a high price.... why, therefore, should we expect more indulgence from human revolutions? and since ours has conferred a republic on France, let us forget those painful shocks in the midst of which it was brought about. Now that it prospers, why should we reproach it with those misfortunes which invariably attend the dawn of liberty in every country?

Besides, though environed by calamity, the first days of the republic presented a grand spectacle to the universe:—its infancy was marked by more heroism and energy than the monarchy displayed during its most memorable and flourishing periods. The facts connected with this great change completely refuted all the ancient tradition, which either ignorance, bigotry, or malevolence may have suggested. The unexampled grandeur of this event may be said to have totally altered

the opinions of mankind. For those who had been accustomed to read the future in what had gone before, told us, that the principles which established governments could alone maintain them, and that the period of their decline immediately followed that of their prosperity. On the above occasion people saw, for the first time perhaps, a great political body, matured by the experience of fourteen centuries, change both its nature and form, without doing any injury to the constituent parts of the government. Thrown from its ancient foundation, this empire has suddenly arisen, and, with a prodigious increase of glory, been fixed on a new basis. Monarchical France had scarcely ceased to exist, when every king who remained in Europe, united to conquer her provinces. Scarcely in existence, Republican France, more powerful than all the thrones put together, rushes forth, and with a giant's stride, regains the limits of ancient Gaul. No sooner was the sceptre of

Henry the IVth, and Louis the XIVth, broken, and rolling in the dust, than the government of the sovereign people reconquered all the inheritance of Charlemagne.

So that eight years of the new æra have filled our annals with more victories and prodigies than eight hundred under the sway of our kings. This gigantic and stupendous character belongs alone to our revolution, while the evils with which we have been afflicted are common to all.

But if the commencement of the republic, impressed as it was with the seal of grandeur, struck the world with awe and admiration, how much ought not these sentiments to have increased since the tenth of November, on which day, wisdom triumphed over delirium, and became the moderator of force! How infinitely has not the state of things been ameliorated since that happy day! What a sad spectacle did it not present before this memorable epoch? That which six years of vic-

tory had decided, became a matter of doubt. Italy was lost. Already had the government began that ruinous system of exhausting the resources of a whole year to gratify the wants of a single day! a system which ends in the destruction of public confidence, and exhaustion of national industry. The shattered remains of our opulence were threatened with a forced loan. Finally, re-animated factions were ready to throw themselves into the arena of civil tumult, while our alarm for the future infinitely surpassed present evils.

The tenth of November arrives, divisions vanish, faction hides itself, and all that was really French appears! Those who only espoused the interest of one party were either removed or opposed. All who felt interested in the national glory were cherished and rewarded. Order was established in the interior, religious liberty was no longer an empty sound; and victory, which abandoned us for

a moment, was brought back by genius to the feet of liberty.

It is gratifying to stop for a moment, and contemplate such a period. The first ornament of national festivals amongst a great people is the spectacle of its growing prosperity. If, however, the picture of our progress during ten months, is not sufficient to console you, look at the state of other countries, and compare it to the situation of that France, which the false recitals of our enemies are incessantly representing as exhausted.

Look at Germany: one of its finest provinces has become an integral part of the French territory: her princes flying, generals divided, and invaded circles nourishing our victorious armies.

As to Italy, it has changed masters at least twenty times. Look down from the Alps on these re-established thrones, and behold all the scourges of despotism, vengeance,

and anarchy, descending into the most beautiful region of the earth, to spread rapine and devastation around.

Will they oppose England to you? England! yes, I say England; which, standing alone amidst universal ruins, congratulates itself on being surrounded with the ocean and storms. But the voice of its people has often carried the wish for peace to the very door of its cabinet: that cabinet is proud of its gold, while the people want bread: the germs of that discontent and civil commotion which is smothered in France, lurks in the hearts of Englishmen.

Such has been the state of France and Europe, during the last ten months. Is it for us to feel alarmed?

Evil to those, who after having fixed their eyes on the foregoing picture, can entertain the smallest regret at our new political existence! They are fools who can witness the republic's prosperity without enthusiasm,

or can still dwell on the misfortunes of its infancy!——Yes, without doubt, the infantine days of liberty are precarious, and sometimes terrible; but its offspring, great like herself, merit the admiration of every age. Happy is that people who are permitted to enjoy the inestimable gift! Happy are the French, in seeing the republic put an end to that revolution which began under the monarchy!

Liberty may be in some degree compared to those gods who were by turns, menacing and propitious, and came to promulgate their laws on Mount Sinai, in the midst of lightning and tempest. Whoever was unprepared to bear the sight of those tremendous deities, and happened to approach too near them, was either struck dead or blind. The wise alone, ascending the height when the favourable moment arrived, knew how to interrogate the solitary Divinity, bringing back its immortal oracles to the people. It was then, thanks to those prudent interpre-

ters, that favours succeeded to menaces, light to darkness, and eternal benefit to temporary evils!

The same dangers have threatened France, the same advantages await us. We have witnessed spectacles the most surprizing, and been enabled, within a short interval, to imbibe the lessons of ages. A few years have enabled us clearly to see through degrading vices of monarchical power, and the frightful excesses of democracy. All that is sublime in popular movements, when they combat for liberty; and all that is hideous in them, when their triumphs are not enjoyed with moderation: error and truth, reason and folly, crime and virtue. Nay, every species of intoxication has passed under our view, either to save or destroy us. How much ought not this hostility of contending passions, this ever changing caprice of fortune, and scenes of protracted history, sometimes united in a single day, increase our wisdom and develope

our reason! The conservative principle has triumphed over every other: let us never forget that; let us transmit it without alloy to future generations; who will bless our memory, while enjoying the fruits of our labours.

Frenchmen! Do not suffer the most distant trace of past animosities to remain amongst you. Your situation, during the last ten months, has silenced the calumny, and reduced the discordant projects of your enemies, to empty noise, and ineffectual menaces: these, by constantly assuming different forms, only serve to render the movers more contemptible and their efforts more impotent. Accustomed to tremble before your victorious arms, they are still more alarmed at that moderation which consolidates our trophies. The conquerors have done all they could to obtain peace from the vanquished, they have treated with frankness: their policy, worthy of the great nation, can be developed at any

time. If, however, the horrors of war recommence, may the maledictions of nations entirely fall on the heads of those who make the evils of society an aliment to their own avarice! When the unrestrained passions of the people opened a volcanic crater in the midst of France, which threatened to overwhelm sciences, arts, and philosophy, the noise of that explosion would naturally create alarm amongst neighbouring nations, keeping them in a state of terrific alienation from our country; but when the all-devouring flame has ceased to consume us; when that mephitic smoke which obscured the heavens and earth is dissipated, and has permitted us to recognize the paths of truth; when the convulsed world has regained its wonted firmness, nations have no longer any right to continue their distrust, or indulge their terrors. It is true, there are some amongst them who wish for peace; but our most implacable enemy is desirous to continue at war, because

war favours his selfish calculations. With the gold which they scatter so profusely on the continent, every species of calamity follow in its train; while they console themselves at the certainty of its being brought back by the factitious wants of those whose blood it has previously bought. Their treasures cherish the misfortunes of nations, while they are renewed by the tribute of those very nations. These enemies still encourage the hope of relighting the torch of civil war amongst us. Why cannot they be transported from the palace of Westminster, under these warlike roofs? Why cannot they be present at this august ceremony, to hear these solemn songs, to witness those profound emotions which animate the magistrates, warriors, citizens, and their deputies sent from the departments, where the same prayers are offered up for the prosperity of our country! On seeing this spectacle, they would soon perceive the impotent inutility

of their plots. The smile of hatred played on their lips, when, during our excesses, we sought glory in the destruction of our ancient monuments. What would they say if they now heard me pronounce the name of TURENNE with such holy respect, and on the anniversary of the Republic.....? Yes, I invoke, on this occasion, the memory of that great captain, to whom the monarchy owed so many brilliant victories; whose mortal remains were conveyed in triumph yesterday, and are now reposing under the most majestic dome in the universe! Turenne had a right to expect from the French people the honour which he has thus obtained: the festival and pomps of Liberty should tranquillize his manes. The immortal orators of his time frequently compared him to Scipio and Fabius Maximus, because they felt that ancient Rome was more suited to the simplicity of his manners. His tomb was for a long time placed near that of our kings, who were

honoured by the alliance. Behold it now in the Temple of Victory, under the colours which have been conquered by the inheritors of his fame. Will it not be said that the two centuries meet, and embrace each other on this august tomb? All that was great in former days, or is so at present, living heroes, and the illustrious dead, are assembled in the same spot, to celebrate that grand day when France changed its laws without interrupting the course of its exalted destinies. This reunion of our former and present glory, ought to redouble the unanimity of the citizens. It is, above all, an example to our descendants. Let them respect the memory of heroes till the latest posterity! Manners, customs, and laws are incessantly changing: the most stable empires are only endowed with a limited existence; but heroism and virtue belong to every age.

Although this example will never be required by future generations, our great cap-

tains will not be the less honoured by their homage and admiration. The monument raised this day will never be destroyed by the ingratitude of our children, *because it is not consecrated to the inflated pride of power.* Here our children will assemble from age to age, and be pleased in repeating the words of Desaix, when falling on the field of battle: like Turenne, the accents of imprecation will re-animate their voice at the recollection of Kleber's assassination; and the shades of these great men will come from the banks of the Nile and Po, to be consoled amidst their grateful descendants.

Such is the presage I entertain with regard to the future. Let the eternal artisans of discord come then! After having successively followed us to the funeral pavilion, and ancient mausoleum, let them mingle with this crowd, and take their stations under these columns;—let them see and hear. They would in vain endeavour to refute that truth

which they so justly fear. They would then, notwithstanding their hatred, fancy themselves transported into the midst of that warlike people, who, assembling at the Capitol with the consuls, began and ended each century by invoking the protecting divinities of the empire. We are very near the same period, and the sentiment which unites us is not less religious. I think I see the Century which is about to close arise, and placing herself on the broken statue or mutilated tomb of an ancient king of France, thus address that which approaches: "I bequeath you a glorious inheritance; I have increased every species of human knowledge, and am justly called the age of philosophy. I disappear, and tempests return with me into the night of time. Your day commences with serenity; be careful to preserve peace and encourage liberty; these divine fruits of persevering labour, which you are on the point of enjoying: reject with horror civil war and

political revolution. Your merit ought to be much greater than mine. It is true I carry away many benedictions, but I also hear some curses. I see the traces of many disasters. More happy than me, you have only to preserve what you receive; and if you are desirous of partaking in the unmixed blessings of contemporary nations, do not disappoint the hopes of the wise and liberal." No! these hopes will not be disappointed or deceived. Peace, liberty, sciences, knowledge, the fine arts, and liberality of sentiment in all matters of government, must prosper under the republic. *The century that commences will be called the* GRAND AGE. I swear it by the people whose organ I have been this day, by the wisdom of their first magistrates, and union of its citizens—*The great destinies of Republican France shall be accomplished!*

REPORT AGAINST PUBLIC DEFAULTERS AND PECULATORS;

Made in the Name of the Commission of Finance, August 16, 1798.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE!

Amongst those factions which are opposed to the revolutionists, there is not one so extensive, or more to be dreaded, than that of peculators. We have unanimously declared a war of death against this *libertiicide* faction; and the lesson will be justly celebrated in the annals of the great nation, by the repression of thefts, and chastisement of public robbers. Such are the hopes justly entertained by our constituents;—such are the courageous intentions and unshaken integrity which animate us all!

You have manifested these regenerating views with a degree of energy and force which has brought the cold sweat of crime

on more foreheads than one; and commissions are already formed to examine the accounts given in by ministers; also the publicity of contracts, and those infamous games which form a branch of revenue and individual profit, still more infamous. You have directed that a special commission should ascertain the best means of punishing the peculators, and preventing future depredations. It is in the name of this commission, formed by your colleagues, Duplantier, Destrem, Gourlay Marquezy, and myself, that I now appear to give an account of our first labours in the task assigned to us, and propose some measures of public utility thereon.

Your commission was in the first place most forcibly struck by an understanding, which ought to be a source of the utmost regret to all the real friends of their country. The Legislative Council has repeatedly manifested its hatred towards peculation, and fre-

quently appointed special commissions to point out the means of prevention and punishment. What was the consequence? Not one of these has ever obeyed the mandate. The magical force of certain circumstances has invariably substituted silence for courage. The abyss was approached, but they dare not examine it; or if a momentary glance has been cast towards the bottom, they were afraid to confess what had been discovered.

We shall turn our eyes from the cause which prevented all preceding commissions from executing the trust reposed in them by this assembly; but, on the other hand, we promise that ours shall be scrupulously fulfilled: we shall not only sound the abyss, but go to the very bottom; and nothing shall turn our attention from indefatigably pursuing the task you have prescribed for us,—an undertaking to which we are exclusively devoted.

To arrest peculation, and detect the authors

of it, no matter by what mantle they may be covered, is certainly not to be effected without surmounting many difficulties, and meeting numerous obstacles. But the representatives of a free people, to do good, have only to be really sincere in that desire, and they must succeed. It is for the patriotic members of a popular assembly steadily to direct their whole attention to the grand principle of public utility, without stopping to examine the surrounding objects, as a warrior flies to victory, without calculating the perils which environ him. There is no doubt, but that when the blood-suckers of the people are pursued they will throw all their poison out on us;—they possess gold, matchless effrontery, and the common-place talents of political seduction. Proud of these advantages, which have, it must be confessed, hitherto answered every purpose of corruption, they flatter themselves on being fully equal to a further continuance of the struggle. But we

will oppose them on constitutional principles. These are so intimately connected with the good of the people, and consistent with the tenure of sovereign power, that their enemies must ultimately perish; and when the day of retribution arrives, their punishment will serve at once as a lesson and example to future generations! The Executive Directory will, doubtless, hasten to unite its efforts to those of the Legislative Body, for the purpose of bringing public defaulters of every kind to condign punishment. Like us, the Directory will feel that the season of half measures, against knaves at least, has gone by; and that to support them any longer would be tantamount to allowing all the substance of the nation to pass into their hands, and hence justify the necessity of new taxes. It is not enough for the ends of justice, and the interest of that people whom we represent, that the pusillanimous authors of their ruin should merely incline their brazen, though timid,

fronts, to raise them again with more avaricious audacity than ever, when the storm of popular indignation has subsided:—once subdued, the enemy must not be suffered to rise any more.

The commission has been already occupied by several important subjects, and proposes, successively, to examine the various items of public expenditure; after which it will suggest the best means it can devise for the extirpation of abuses. This mode of proceeding is rendered necessary from the nature of our functions, as tending to prevent peculation of every description; besides, the above method will enable the commission to submit innumerable minute propositions, which could not well be introduced into a general plan. We were on the point of making some proposals, but a reflection has arisen to prevent our following up that determination at present.

In our firm resolution to strip the veil from intrigue, will it not be necessary as well as

prudent that we should only be heard by our colleagues? And as the whole truth must be told, malevolence, ever on the watch, cannot fail to profit by the solemn discussions to which this momentous subject may give rise. There is not one amongst us, representatives of the people, unacquainted with that hydra of faction which surrounds this assembly;—the monster is incessantly on the look out, and often distorts what is said into its own infernal idiom;—it will listen to you, and lose not a moment in commenting on every speech, endeavouring to envenom our intentions, and arrogate to itself these generous impulses, which do not most assuredly belong to so bad a cause.

To avoid the foregoing evil, your commission has thought it right to propose, that whenever the assembly is called upon to discuss the plans we may have to bring forward, the whole shall be formed into a general committee. By the adoption of this pro-

posal faction will be foiled; we shall no longer be interrupted in our progress by the fear of allowing a handle to the enemy; we shall then give ourselves entirely up to the holy office you have entrusted to us, and can present you with the result of our labours with more confidence and pleasure: the commission has therefore, in consequence of these considerations, empowered me to demand that we should resolve ourselves into a committee of the whole house on Monday next, so as that it may submit various topics for discussion, and also several projects, all tending to the salutary end of amelioration.

These reflections have naturally led to our enquiring whether it would not be more advantageous to the public, that all great financial questions should be also discussed in general committees. In suppressing their publicity you will weaken that vile species of speculator in the national wealth, whose own strength is unequal to support him, if not

sustained by leaders, who vainly endeavour to hide themselves in the shadows of crime. How frequently have not these pilfering wretches waited the effect of a debate on the finances, in order that it might be made the ground-work of their infamous speculations? How often has it not occurred, that immense sums, torn from the hard earnings of the people, have gone to enrich the vilest part of mankind! Unhappy men! They were daring enough to adopt the legislator's sentiments as the text of their plunder. They haunt, spy, and frequently endowed with the prophetic spirit of Cassandra, even foretel the result of financial operations.

Representatives of the people, hasten to stem the torrent of peculation and immorality. Your commission is occupied in that pursuit with the most zealous solicitude; and it first proposes, as the most effectual means of doing justice to the public, that all financial measures shall in future be discussed in a

secret committee: this measure was called for by the wishes of nearly all our colleagues; and we have considered it as coming within the sphere of our official attributes; we therefore propose that it shall pass into a law, of which the following is a draft, &c.

SPEECH,

On the Innovations proposed to be made on the Cisalpine Republic, by the Executive Directory. Delivered July 14th, 1799.

Representatives of the people, depositaries of the constitution of the third year, it is to you I address myself. Report says that innovations are about to be made in a neighbouring and allied republic. From the banks of the Po to those of the Seine, the friends of liberty have felt justly alarmed; a longer silence on your part would tend to redouble their inquietude and dishonour ourselves. I

shall therefore call your attention to these innovations, prepared as they are by persons without authority or character. It is my duty to bring them before you. If, as many assert, there are some truths which it is dangerous to publish, it is equally certain that there are others, and those of a bold nature too, which ought not to be concealed, unless people wish to become absolute slaves; and we are not amongst that degraded number.

There are some projects which it is only necessary to render public, and their authors are disconcerted: such, I imagine, is that of a few individuals, who, in their scientific delirium, suppose that plan entitled to the appellation of perfect, which would only be the triumph of aristocracy over republicanism. The Cisalpine constitution is that of France, as promulgated in the third year; a sacred charge, which the people have confided to you, the Executive Directory, the public functionaries, judges, and the army, to the

wives and mothers, and, finally, the courage of all true Frenchmen. It is in this glorious constitution that our social guarantee may be said to exist. Out of this sacred pale, I can see no solid ground upon which to build the foundation of our republican institutions: unconnected with this, we should merely walk in the slippery sand of despotism, or perish in a land of civil war.

Who are those people, that imagine the moment has arrived when France is justified in quitting the salutary asylum into which she had entered after so many storms? What! before we have had time to breathe, or the constitution has to boast of more than a few years' experience, and been adopted by another state; are we to make inroads into it? Thus organized, discord has already appeared between the two nations. People even dare to speak of reforming the Legislative Body, under the pretext of economy! Treaties, which were made by you, are

violated under your own eyes, without your concurrence or participation! An ambassador has recognized the independence of the Cisalpine Republic, and the next day conspired against it! Are French bayonets to be employed for the execrable purpose of aiding these iniquitous projects? I am unwilling to believe in the existence of such machinations; but numerous written accounts daily reach us on the subject. The cries of the people are heard; the hideous spectre of aristocracy strikes our hateful regards, as if on the point of overturning the cradle of democracy; but perhaps all this may be merely a vision?

In other respects these fears are honourable. If the Directory dissipates our alarms, the circumstance of having exposed them, will become a source of congratulation. If a sinister project exists, and is avowed, we are called upon to attack it with intrepidity; recollecting, at the same, that any attempt

made on the integrity of the Cisalpine Republic, is an indirect one upon our own. But before such an experiment be made on our social compact, I declare, and even swear, that we ought to resist the attempt with all our might. The constitution provides that none but the *whole people* have a right to change it. If any defects are discovered to exist, there are constitutional means of reform, to which every man is authorized to have recourse. The Council of Anciens, at Milan as well as Paris, may call for salutary revision. But they ought not to be the result of these groveling manœuvres to which none but men of the most unblushing audacity and abandoned principles could think of resorting.

By a law of the constitution, a French ambassador resides in the capital of the Cisalpine Republic: by what right, therefore, I would ask, can he propose to overturn that constitution and violate the laws? If

the envoys sent to allied republics, occupy themselves in disturbing social order; if the treaties guaranteed by you, are not held sacred by them, the republic has become a chimera; and the governments are mere oppressions. Let the words of an address lately received, ring through these halls, "That if five or six people are sufficient to destroy the edifice of liberty in Milan, it will only require a few more, to perform the same sacrilege at Paris!"

Let us in the mean time examine the nature of the amelioration which those innovators wish to propose.

They have alluded to an economical system; doubtless peculation is about to be checked, contracts will be openly made, and the whole financial arcana will be properly regulated. No such thing, citizens: the pretended improvements are confined to limiting the executive authority to three persons, to adjourn, and parcel out, the legislative body during four months of the year, in order

that it may be rendered useless the remaining eight; to give the real power of making laws to the executive:—such is the method proposed to make the constitution perfect! Such, representatives, is the system which increased the power of the triumvirs, when, reigning by proscriptions, they divided the spoils of Rome! It was this system which founded the tyranny of Cæsar, and led to the people's preferring one tyrant to three! All the epochs of history have re-produced the same events, though disguised under different names.

Cromwell, like the triumvirs, is said to have promised perfection to the English constitution, when the parliament impeded his ambitious designs. The usurper did not wish to oppose that body openly and by main force: more artful and patient, he was satisfied with corrupting the House of Commons, and through the influence of his agents caused its members to lose the entire confidence of the people, reducing them to such

a degree of ignominy, that when they wished to re-assume an attitude of independence, it was no longer in their power.

Watching this opportunity, the crafty general entered the senate, accompanied by a few grenadiers, who were ordered to turn out the degraded and mock representation: the soldiers obeyed, and the English revolution, which cost so much blood to bring about, ended in this climax of military despotism !!! *

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* These observations are not a little calculated to excite the reader's consideration and reflection ; particularly when coupled with Lucien's conduct on the tenth of November. 1799, only a year after they were delivered. Nor is it easy to avoid recurring to the oft repeated parallel between the Protector and Buonaparte. Notwithstanding the indelible disgrace which must ever attach to the people of England for submitting to the yoke of that successful usurper, there are few who can deny that he possessed many advantages over his more modern rival; particularly in the art of retaining power, no matter how iniquitously obtained.—Will any person pretend to assert that had Napoleon Buonaparte, like Cromwell, been satisfied with superintending the

Shall we be silent then, under circumstances which are by no means unlike the above? Shall we suffer the wrong to be employed to violate the rights of the people? Have you already forgot the faculty of deliberation we possess, when the constitution is menaced? No! the representative system is not so easy to destroy, as some people vainly hope, or others imagine; and if unforeseen circumstances have hitherto vitiated its inviolability, they ought only tend to increase the much wished for accomplishment of our hopes: they prove, indeed, that civil war is a dreadful evil; but that tyranny, under any shape, is infinitely worse. Let us, therefore, proclaim that the constitution of the third year is consonant to the unalterable wishes of the people; that its revision can only be obtained by constitutional means; that to alter it by any others is a crime; and, finally, that you

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administration at home, while he made France respected abroad, he would now be withering on a desolate rock?—Ed.

are determined to stop the torrent at its source, which threatens to annihilate the last sparks of expiring liberty amongst us! The Cisalpine Republic can only undergo a change in that assembly which gave it existence: no other power on earth is justified in usurping this right, coeval with freedom itself.

I demand, therefore, that a message be addressed to the Executive Directory, requesting that it will send, without delay, all the information it possesses as to the reports in circulation relative to a popular movement in the Cisalpine teritory, and of those innovations which the French ambassador has been accused of making. Those explanations will either serve to calm our uneasiness, or provoke that kind of enquiry which is required for your honour, independence, and security.

REPORT, *made in the Name of the Commission of Eleven, on the Situation of France; June* 19, 1799.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE!

Horror-struck at the sight of those evils which oppress our country, you have demanded of the Executive Directory, by your message of the 5th instant, what are the causes which have led to the present deplorable state of things, both with regard to our interior condition and external relations.

On the 16th you declared your sitting permanent, until the Directory's answer to the above requisition should be made; and we were all anxious to remain here as long as there was the smallest chance of our being useful to the republic. By this declaration of permanence, you have attracted the attention of all France towards your deliberations, and are unequivocally pledged to the nation.

If the people never lose sight of their representatives, their solicitude is increased tenfold in seasons of public calamity, when relief can come from no other quarter. You have felt the duty which is imposed by the declaration of permanence, and are now anxious to meet the wishes and fulfil the hopes of the citizens.

To execute these our patriotic intentions, it is first necessary to ascertain the exact nature of those evils under which the country labours, and finally endeavour to remove them. The Executive Directory, by its reply of the 17th instant, pointed out an augmentation of our financial resources, as the only remedy. As the want of sufficient funds and credit could only be attributed to the legislative body, that uncandid and artful indication went to designate yourselves as the primary cause of public grievances: the defeat of our armies, and disorders of the interior, were by a natural inference added to the rest of your

errors; giving rise to a renewal of those perfidious accusations which were so profusely directed against us during the former servitude and degradation of the press.

Such are the painful ideas which result from the Directory's message of the 17th, which announced a second one, intended to be more precise. Doubtless, the respective dignity of those authorities which you have established, the open frankness that begins to manifest itself between them, and reciprocal confidence which now seems to animate those august individuals, afford a presumptive assurance that the next message will be somewhat more satisfactory than the last. In the mean time, the fatal impression created by the first, ought to be destroyed: we owe it to France, to the armies, and to ourselves.

The word deficit is a species of veil with which people invariably labour to cover the melancholy picture of our situation. It is in vain that attempts have been made to render this officious

covering less transparent: it has not excluded the real objects from public view, or deceived your solicitous penetration: so that our adversaries have vainly attempted to divert the national indignation into another channel.

You will have observed, representatives of the people, with how much obstinacy it has until now been contended, that this supposed deficit in the revenue was the cause of defection in our army, and of the enemy's progress.

There is certainly no necessity to repeat those calculations which have been so often rejected by your financial commissions, whose reports have totally eradicated a contemptible system already shaken by public opinion.

How is it possible, in fact, that this imaginary deficit can have any thing to do with reverses, brought about by the most deplorable ignorance, and unheard of *inattention*? If the composers of that message had analysed

their ideas a little more, they might have escaped those reproaches of bad faith, which every impartial observer has now a right to make. It is impossible that a deficiency could have been hitherto experienced in the funds destined for the war department, as the credit which was accorded to the minister of war, is not as yet entirely expended. All the observations which form the basis of this message are chimerical; but they will appear still farther removed from reality, by the following estimate of our means, compared with the expenditure.

It may be safely asserted, with all that confidence generally produced by experience, that an army of four hundred thousand men, on the war establishment, ought not to cost more than 28,000,000 francs; including the equipments which it would require, at the rate of 700 francs a head, annually.

According to the above calculation, the first eight months of last year, ought not to

cost more than 187,000,000, estimating our effective military force at 400,000 men, and allowing 700 francs per man, agreeably to the Directory's own maximum, and the sum demanded for the current expences of the year: now, the minister Schérer states the army to have been only two hundred and seventy-five thousand strong, on the 22d of September, and the Executive Directory in its late message has appropriated 245,000,000 francs for the department of war, up to the 24th of May. A similar estimate to the one thus alluded to, will be found in the tables which were subjoined to the minister of finance's letter to his colleague, Genimeux.

It is therefore evident, that for the first eight months of 1797, the Directory appropriated 58,000,000 francs more than was necessary for an army of four hundred thousand men. So that it has not only possessed all the funds required for the maintenance of the army during these eight months, but

even applied it for that purpose. How is it, therefore, possible that this pretended deficit could have impeded the progress of the army, or in any other respect cramped the Executive Directory's military arrangements?

On the other hand, the various reports made by your commissions of finance, must have proved that the receipts were very nearly equal to the expenditure. If these receipts have not been perfectly complete, it arises from the non-execution of existing laws; and all of these are left to the Directory's superintendence. If the Legislative Body had voted a million more, and the imperfect mode of collecting prevented it from being applied to the purposes for which it was intended, where did the fault lay, and how could the treasury profit by the grant? When the taxes already imposed are not collected, is not the addition of new taxes to be considered as a public calamity? And recollect, citizens, that in the foregoing statements,

those who brought them forward passed very lightly over the contributions made in conquered countries. These have scarcely been noticed in the estimate of our resources. Should taxation be carried to the last extremity, and those who pay them, not be allowed to arraign the vices, and oppose the disorders of administration?

No, representatives! It is not the deficit, so loudly and incessantly complained of, that has caused the misfortunes of the state: it is to that system pursued by the majority of the Directory for more than a year, that they are alone to be attributed: this system has been the most powerful auxiliary of the coalition, whose successes it prepared. No less to the injury of our domestic interests than foreign relations, it has disorganized your armies, encouraged the plunder and destruction of friendly republics, and finally created a feeling of indifference fatal to patriotism amongst the people.

The armies!!!..... these were surprized, but not vanquished, owing to their innumerable privations, which have been the sole cause of these reverses we have to deplore. At the close of the war, they were deprived of all those means by which success could alone be achieved: they were weakened; their supplies withheld, and peculations suffered to go unpunished. This latter part of the public evils was so aggravated, that even the very arms and arsenals were made subservient to views of profit and plunder.

At the commencement of the last session, these abuses could not fail to attract the attention of the Legislative Body; but its good intentions were for that time paralyzed, owing to the conduct of the Directory, which constantly abused those extravagant powers which the 4th of September left in its hands; persevering in a system of the utmost violence and legislative contention; hoping to be thus enabled to support its authority outside the

constitutional barrier, which they seemed determined not to re-enter. The friends of the constitution were called anarchists; while the executive power, equally insensible to their efforts and complaints, proceeded in its career of iniquity, without ever stopping to look behind on the devastating effects of its administration. Aided on its ruinous march by mean submission on the one hand, and servile flattery on the other, where was this unprincipled exercise of authority to terminate?

Next to the disorganization of the army, nothing could be more fatal to the country, than the removal of the republicans from offices of trust. This plan was prepared in a most deliberate manner, and executed with all the rapidity of despotism: it had the effect of exciting discouragement and tumult in every direction; the friends of liberty having abandoned the reins of government to other hands, were thenceforwards the objects

of distrust and obloquy. Revolutionary indifference was designated as the first of political virtues; and those men, who were but too full of it, replaced the choice of the people.

The Legislative Body's ultimate debasement would have been long since effected by a degraded and hireling press, if it was as easy to influence public opinion, as to violate the laws. One of the great objects contemplated by this systematic attack on the integrity of the national representation, was that of carrying into effect the old scheme of corrupt influence and sacrilegious usurpation in popular elections, as the best means of extending the degradation supposed to be already effected in this assembly, to the nation at large. Hence the completion of their ultimate triumph over public liberty and patriotism.

By the illegal exclusion of republicans, the Directory neutralized the right of election, the only privilege retained by the sovereign

people, during our days of trouble, and which the constitutional charter had vainly assured them of guaranteeing. The word government was by this party exclusively applied to the executive power; and this strange error is even to be found in the last message: as if the government, in its republican character, could possibly consist in one single branch of authority. The adoption of such a principle, led to the desertion of popular assemblies; which being deprived of legal protection, were no longer calculated to attract the citizens.

After having broke through the trammels of royalty, and destroyed the sceptres of so many kings, can the people or the army patiently wear the yoke of agents the most contemptible, wretches to whom personal liberty has been merely a jest, and public opinion a chimera! It is from the operation of this fatal ascendancy, citizens, that the conscripts have shewn so little anxiety to

march, AND THAT APATHY HAS BECOME ALMOST UNIVERSAL!

Abroad, our republican allies have been treated like conquered countries, and given up to the most shameful exactions. Both Italy and Holland have been made a prey to avaricious commissioners. In the first named devoted country, which is almost synonymous with political persecution, every species of injustice and cruelty was practised, revolutions promoted, and the most sacred rights of society trampled upon, to gratify the resentment, or suit the caprice of arbitrary power. The gratitude of nations has been converted into a rooted hatred to the French name, and this for crimes in which the French people have had no share. A desire to become slaves has been inspired into a part of those who are our elders in liberty.—Chains have bound those hands which were always victorious; the laurel has been but a weak defence; and the warrior covered with

glory has been obliged either to retire altogether from the field, or bow his head beneath the vilest tyranny: so that the fruits of innumerable victories, were in a few short weeks lost to the republic, until still greater efforts gave rise to new successes. At home, the complaints of republicans against acts of arbitrary power, have poured in from every quarter: abroad, the unfortunate victims sacrificed to sorrow, have raised their plaintive cries to you———

They shall be heard, and their manes avenged!

A new era is opened to us.—Public opinion seconds our endeavours, and aids us by its unerring councils; your permanency will be the dawn of a brighter day. The Directory shall be regenerated, while the Legislative Body re-assumes it station as the first authority in the state: fresh efforts, intimate union, frequent communication, unalterable concord, and perfect unanimity on all really important

subjects, cannot fail to insure full and entire success to the friends of rational liberty. Each component part of the body politic will henceforth proceed to attain its object on constitutional grounds. Men accustomed to victory will fly to arms; and the republican fasces is about to recover that strength which it never should have lost.

You will receive another message from the Directory; and every thing announces the probability of its being more conformable to the real state of affairs, with regard to the finances in particular, to truth, and the wishes of republicans than the last. Let your uneasiness cease therefore; giving place to those high, liberal, and generous sentiments, which animated you during the first days of our revolution. The advocates of royalty may have indulged some hopes. Vain as they are momentary, they will soon be lost for ever, and the republicans regain all their wonted energies. The changes which you have made

are highly beneficial, and will occupy an important place in history, while they cannot fail to produce a great effect in Europe. This will arise from the irresistible force of public opinion operating on the progress of knowledge and civilization: they have added to the strength of the constitution; and their importance will be duly appreciated by the public, as well as the unanimous consent of republicans.

Your commission therefore proposes, that the Legislative Body shall suspend its decree of remaining in permanence until the expected message of the Executive Directory has been transmitted.

The above proposition was unanimously adopted, and the sitting closed.

EXTRACT OF A SPEECH

Delivered to the Legislative Body, May 18, 1802, *on the Creation of the Legion of Honour.*

LEGISLATORS,

The tribunate has adopted the plan of a law instituting a legion of honour, and at the same time charged me with the distinguished task of developing the motives of their adoption to this august assembly.

I shall therefore examine this project of a law under a double point of view,—as a military and civil recompense for services performed to the state.

We now enjoy the sweets of peace; so that the moment has at length arrived when it becomes the duty of government to organize that species of reward which the constitution promises to warriors who may have signalized themselves in combating for the republic.

The execution of this measure, guaranteed by the constitution, has already commenced, and arms of honour have been distributed to several meritorious individuals.

These partial measures have, however, now become insufficient. Those who are the objects of them have, it is true, received marks of honourable distinction; but this has not been so conspicuous or beneficial as the occasion seemed to require. The persons thus rewarded enjoy pensions proportioned to their rank; but from these being paid out of the public treasury, they are not totally independent of those contingencies which might sometimes interfere with their regular payment: in fact, brevets of honour are not equal to the merits of individuals; nor has this mode of recompensing public servants manifested the national gratitude enough since the peace. The latter has enhanced and consolidated the services performed to such a degree, that

it is no more than just to increase and consolidate the degree of remuneration.

It is to perform this duty, and fulfil the promise of the people, that the government proposes the formation of a legion of honour.

The tribunate has recognized two grand advantages from this mode of military recompense: First, The proposed law renders the distinction already established, by the brevets of honour, fully equal to the object in view, without violating the constitution.

Secondly, It makes the pensions attached to these brevets of honour independent of the public treasury, and conformable to the national interests.

At present, citizen legislators, brevets scarcely enjoy any recompense that may not be obtained by every other honorary distinction. Isolated and unknown, they are lost, as it were, on the vast field of their glory. It is in vain that a grateful country enquires

for them. It is equally vain for the stranger, who is prompted by mere curiosity, to trace their steps amongst the multitude. Nothing points this class of citizens out to the gratitude of his country, or admiration of foreigners; and while the service done is seen every where, there is no possibility of discovering the recompense.

This unnatural state will be immediately improved by the projected law; and in future those who participate in the brevets will find their chief in the head of the government. Formed into legions, their great actions will experience a reciprocal degree of splendor from that arrangement; while one grand ray of glory encircles the whole body of those heroes, who may be found worthy of a place in the new institution.

Our warriors will thus be honourably remunerated for their past exploits: more they do not desire, while the republic cannot acquit itself better towards these her defenders;

and surely, there is no wish so ambitious, as not to be fully gratified by a distinction that follows a man to his tomb, which is the utmost extent of legislative rewards; for it would be forgetting the age in which we live, to suppose any one desirous of hereditary honours. Chastisements, like crimes, are personal: so ought services and their rewards; nor is there more real glory attached to hereditary remuneration, than there would be shame in hereditary punishment. This truth, which must be evident to all rational minds, is dear to generous ones. Vanity may, indeed, present the indolent and degenerate, with an image of ancestorial virtue, which he vainly imagines as having descended to him with their goods and chattels. But glory fills the heart of her votary with an emulation purely individual.

Glory tells the man whose father was not distinguished in society; "Go! the world is all before you; plunge into its perilous career;

be intrepid in the field of war, and bold in the midst of faction; extend the *circle of human science;* improve the useful, and cultivate the fine arts, the privileged enjoyments of polished society: defend, illustrate your country; and you will become great amongst your fellow men; nor shall your death, when it does arrive, be eternal."

Does glory address the descendant of a hero? She exclaims, "imitate your ancestors, if, like them, you would obtain my favours. They conquered for France on the Alps and Pyrenees: follow their steps, follow me to those snow-topped heights.—Your ancestors, while they honoured the magistracy, defended the oppressed against oppression: follow their steps; follow me into the difficult paths of justice. Be as great as your fathers, or at least do not be lost in their fame, which is not a virtue for you, but an additional inducement to acquire it!"

Such is the unvarying language of that fascinating goddess, whose transcendent voice

has irrevocably separated the prejudices of hereditary distinctions from the sublime sentiment of personal merit; and although the system of transmitting honours from father to son has been adopted in more than one republic, it is no less absurd or reprehensible in the eyes of reason and philosophy.

But notwithstanding all the precautions of government, to adhere closely to the constitution, which rejects every thing in the shape of hereditary distinctions, in establishing a rule of military compensation, there are some people so extremely susceptible of an honourable distrust, in all that interferes with long practice in matters of constitutional freedom, that they can only recognize a privileged order, and even the germs of an hereditary nobility, in that distribution of personal honours, proposed to be given on the present occasion. It is here, that their objections to the measure in contemplation naturally begin.

First, The legion of honour, say they, is a

privileged body. It is dangerous to public liberty, and contrary to the principles of equality. Secondly, It subjects its members to a particular oath; and endowing them with territorial domains, evidently contains the seeds of a hereditary nobility.

These objections I propose to combat by a short analysis. In answer to the first, I would say, that for a body to be considered as privileged, its members ought to enjoy exclusive powers, which no other individuals of the society possess: whereas the legion of honour does not confer any thing of the kind, but merely an honourable distinction, which serves as a recompence, because it powerfully excites a spirit of emulation, and satisfies the possessor, without at the same time producing any effect on the political order of the state.

This is evident from the legionaries having no military powers or privileges, while they are equally divested of civil and judicial authority.

First, They have no military rights; for in order to arrive at the highest rank in the army, it is not necessary to form a part of the legion of honour: although the legion gives no right, say the opponents, it affords a cause of alarm to those who are inimical to military government; but let me ask what is an alarming military power? Reflection and history inform us that it is a power that may become sufficiently strong to *destroy the government, and rule the state, according to its own tyrannical* dictum *and arrogant pretensions. Ergo.* The legion of honour cannot possibly excite any such alarm, since it emanates immediately from, and is concentrated in the government itself; without whose authority it cannot act. Besides, from being formed of brave individuals, who have already received brevets in the different corps, and those who are to be so in future, it does not even compose a military body; for the breveted members are employed on

active service in various parts of the republic. Thus it will appear that the legion of honour is merely a nominal and honorary corps; but does not deserve consideration as one of physical force: how, therefore, can it be said to present any cause of alarm to the enemies of military despotism? The establishment of its fifteen principal stations, is only intended to facilitate the administration of those national domains which are appropriated for its members.

In the second place, the legion confers no right of a civil nature. It has nothing whatever to do either with the national representation, or mode of administering justice. Its members possess no superiority, right, or pre-eminence over the constituted authorities; and nothing but a rage for making comparisons could have ever induced any one to draw a parallel between it and an intermediate order. The legion of honour can only be considered as intermediate in relation

to the services it has rendered the French people, and the recompence decreed to it in their name.

Thirdly, The legion has no judicial powers, for it does not possess any specific tribunal, or particular jurisdiction: its members do not leave the class of citizens. If the national gratitude distinguishes them, impartial justice will regard them without the least apprehension.

I have proved, citizen legislators, that the proposed law does not endow the legionaries with any exclusive rights or military prerogative, neither civil nor judicial authority; that it merely consecrates a personal distinction, without producing any effect on the political order of society. The legion of honour is not, therefore, contrary to that system of equality established by the constitution. I have also proved that it does not go to establish a dangerous power in the state; because if viewed in the light of an active

connected military force, its character is totally misconceived. Arguing from these premises, I am fully justified in saying that this law is not in any way calculated to alarm the friends of liberty.

The grand objection, which represented the legion as a privileged and dangerous corps, is therefore entirely destitute of all foundation in truth; and consequently reduced to an idle declamation, without any determinate sense: and it was in this point of view the tribunate regarded it, in voting for the law's being adopted.

With respect to the second objection, the adversaries of this law, after having endeavoured to shew that it went to create a military order in the state, added that it also contained the germs of an hereditary nobility: let us, therefore, now examine whether the fears thus attempted to be drawn from the future are better founded than those which have been manifested for the present.

Hereditary nobility, say the opponents of this measure, commenced by the concession of those territorial grants which the barbarians of every country made to the chiefs who led them to victory and plunder; that, as the project in contemplation happens to embrace a grant of lands on a large scale, it must necessarily have the same object in view.

To believe in the justice of this parallel, one must be either totally ignorant of history, or have read it to very little purpose.

There is not, in fact, citizen legislators, one amongst you, who is not aware, that in past ages, when whole nations of barbarians, stimulated by a rage for conquest, precipitated themselves on those regions which seemed, as it were, forsaken to their merciless fangs, the conquerors invariably divided the land of the vanquished. You also know that the provinces, towns, and smaller tracts, were assigned to each chief of the barba-

rians, whose children inherited the personal property thus acquired; and, finally, that this mode of inheritance has led to the establishment of hereditary titles, both as to honorary distinctions and personal property. But where do the objectors discover, that the latter is assigned by the present law? There is not a single trace of the kind to be found throughout the whole project. The estates which form the patrimony of the legion, belong to the whole body *en masse*, and are administered by itself; for which purpose, fifteen chief stations of administration are established, on the territories of the republic. The revenues arising from these lands, serve to pay the pensions allotted to the legionaries; but not one of these estates has, either by right or fact, the most distant affinity to those which gave rise to titles of hereditary nobility during the age of barbarism. It can therefore only be superficial observers who imagined the existence of this unfounded and absurd analogy

between two cases so diametrically opposed in all their bearings. In the first case, what could be more natural than for those who had not tasted the joys of civilization, to go in search of that happiness which they looked for in vain at home; and in the second, is it necessary for me to say, that the refined and patriotic European desires no other beyond the place which gave him birth? Can there be any comparison made between warriors, whose physical strength and ferocious courage was used only to plunder and subdue; and these of France, who have employed their valour to defend the liberty of their country, and property of their citizens? It is the same difference which exists between the unorganized governments of those barbarous days, and the republic one and indivisible; and, finally, the immense interval which separates the age of darkness from the nineteenth century!

The alarm which people have figured to

themselves in, from the future operation of this law, are therefore as ill founded as those which have been so ridiculously manifested for the present.

There is not, I will maintain it, either in the oath prescribed to the legionaries, or the grants of land they receive, the smallest cause to apprehend the establishment of an hereditary nobility: on the contrary, all the germs of philosophy and sound policy, so abundantly developed under the present government, are to be found in both the one and the other. Possessing a conservative principle in favour of all our existing institutions, they are only obnoxious to the enemies of France; nor can such a measure appear impolitic except to those who regard matters of state with too prejudiced an eye, however well affected they may be as citizens of the republic. There is also another class of men who disapprove of this law: these will be found in persons with whom the success of the administration

is at once the cause of envy and apprehension; citizens whose sufferings increase as public felicity advances.

The grant of national property will also be a source of great advantage to the revenue; and considered in another important point of view, it offers a new guarantee to the purchasers of national domains. But those who have acquired this kind of property have nothing to fear: they are now the legitimate possessors, and may repose in peace; justice and the laws have secured the full enjoyment of their rights, while victory has confirmed them. It is not long since religion has consecrated what the law had previously ordained; and the legion of honour comes to crown the whole by establishing it on an immovable basis.

Relieved from these melancholy presentiments which environed us, it is now time, citizen legislators, to examine the second part of this measure, and enquire into the subject of that recompence which the consti-

tution does not assign to those who may have rendered important services in the civil departments of the state.

Doubtless military services cannot be too highly rewarded, and some epochs of our revolution have added more than an ordinary value to exploits of that description; if it be recollected that the armies alone sustained the glory of France abroad, while insatiable discord devoured the very families of our defenders at home. In those days of trouble, the enemy's spirit might be said to have concentrated in the very midst of us, while that of the nation fled to defend the frontiers.

Our armies would, however, have conquered in vain, had discord continued to hold her reign in France. If civic courage had not animated those who put an end to our political excesses; it would have been in vain for the armies to cover the fields of Italy and Germany with their trophies. Having for a long time marched from victory to

conquest, their gigantic exploits struck the universe with astonishment, affording joy and hope to the nation. Notwithstanding their brilliant advantages, peace seemed to fly before them, and be farther off than ever: this arose from the circumstance of our internal contentions offering no guarantee to neighbouring countries. Because their governments dreaded the influence of revolutionary contagion, all open communication with us seemed contagious. To obtain peace, the triumph of internal order became necessary, and could not be supplied by all our foreign conquests. It is here that services of a civil nature, assume a character of such importance, that their recompence also becomes a sacred and national duty.

But why have the different ordinances which promise military rewards, excluded those to which civilians are equally entitled?

These promises having been made by legislators in the name of that people whom

they represented, it is easy to conceive why civil recompence was not inscribed on the law of military remuneration: when you proclaimed the national gratitude, you wished to forget that during all great revolutions, the career of politics is an arena, in which the parties engaged give themselves up to a perpetual contest: this you were desirous of forgetting. However, while surrounded by the clamours of sedition, and enveloped with the snares of perfidy, did you not daily combat for the republic? How many wretched nights were there not passed in the presence of furious adversaries, on these seats upon which faction had chosen so many victims! It is true that this hall was not like the field of battle, covered with dust, and saturated with blood; but poignards were sharpened at your very doors: to speak in the language of a great poet,

Là, se dressaient les echafauds!

The death which overtakes a man in the

field, is at least honourable; and the sword often leaves an impression even worse than loss of life itself. Wounds create distortion and protracted suffering: he who has left his home in all the vigour of youth, returns exhausted and scarcely able to regain the paternal seat; when he arrives, only to hear the sighs and witness the tears of his relatives and friends! Yet a noble pride succeeds to these feelings of regret; the applause and respect of those around him soften the evils of his situation, and the blood he has shed in the field, insures a certain portion of glory.

The fate of public men is sometimes even still more deplorable. If to this mutilated picture we oppose a political victim; if we examine the sanguinary catalogue, invoking the shade of a magistrate or legislator, fallen under the dagger of the enraged multitude, or tyrannical faction; what a dreadful spectacle is then presented to the eye!.....

The intrepid magistrate is seen amongst the

deluded populace: it is in vain that he attempts to make himself heard; he displays the august emblems of authority to the people; but these are implacable and want blood, which can alone satisfy them. In this state of furious tumult, he vainly endeavours to oppose the torrent: assailed on every side, braving menaces and scurrility, he endeavours to appease their anger at the risk of his life. He is anxious to save the victim whom popular fury has selected: the latter is covered by his mantle and pressed in his arms; the people rush forward, and, pierced with a hundred wounds, they both fall to rise no more!.... Thus sacrificed, is not the magistrate to have a tomb? No, citizens, it is denied him: No honours or funeral pomp commemorate his name! His mutilated limbs, the execrable trophies of popular delirium, are carried in triumph to the very threshold of his door; his friends scarcely dare to pity him, or lament his fate: they

even fly from his remains. ..... *He has betrayed the people!* is vociferated on every side. *He has betrayed the people!* and his blighted memory is merely the presage of approaching ruin to his family!

But let us no longer dwell on these melancholy scenes, which recal to mind so many honourable names and sorrowful recollections. This rapid sketch will no doubt be quite sufficient to remind all, that the period of revolution is generally one of unbridled violence and obdurate revenge. It is true that during the days of tranquillity, the struggle ceases, when the guardians of the state are occupied by those labours which maintain social order, facilitate the progress of knowledge, or secure the benefits of good laws to the people. Like the army, the services of the magistracy, though not quite so brilliant or perilous, are equally useful to the community.

It is therefore necessary to atone for the

silence of our constitution on this most important point, and also provide some recompense for civil services. This is what the present law proposes. It declares that the public functionaries may be admitted into the legion of honour, provided they have formed a part of the national guard.

There was no other mode, citizen legislators, of arranging this matter; for, in adopting another course, it would have been necessary to establish scarfs of honour, or some other distinction:—but, independently of the inconvenience which generally attends multiplying such institutions, the propriety of the law appears to be amply demonstrated by the following observation:

The legion goes to establish one great centre of unity between those citizens who fill civil and military employments: by this means it will attain a most useful end. For as both these classes of the community generally contend for pre-eminence, as to national

gratitude and applause, such rival pretensions encourage secret jealousies, and finally end in a spirit of party, extremely injurious to the interests of the state. The legion of honour will have an amazing tendency to destroy both these effects. It will re-unite the military, magistrates, heads of departments, men of learning and artists. Invested with the same distinction, a kind of fraternal equality will be seen to animate them; and this happy spirit of union once established, cannot fail to extend its salutary effects to society at large.

Such are the principal points that have merited the suffrages of the tribunate, in proposing the present law, in which civil and military recompenses appear to be organized, so as to render it worthy of the great nation: these are proportioned to the services rendered, and, above all, in strict conformity to the fundamental laws of the republic.

We have sanctioned the details of its

execution as the basis of the law, and recognized in the formation of a grand council of administration, that system of wisdom and moderation, which never departs from constitutional principles, and serves to consolidate the representative system more firmly than ever, while it insures the maintenance of civil and political order. We see, and so will you, doubtless, with the interests of men and pride of citizens, the fifteen hospitable asylums proposed to be opened in the principal stations of the respective cohorts, promising so many establishments, which, if not equally sumptuous, will be at least quite as useful as the finest institutions of Louis the Fourteenth's reign.

Such are the prospects which the present measure holds out to the future, and whose adoption is justified by two years of prodigies. Abandon yourselves therefore, citizen legislators, to the pleasure they inspire. Hasten to organize the civil and military

rewards of our heroes. United in spirit and sentiment to a regenerating government, continue to the last hour of your session to consolidate this immortal republic, in which you have, within six weeks, enacted laws favourable to public education and national credit; ratified treaties of peace worthy of the great nation you represent, and those religious institutions, which are as dear to the hearts of the people as they are necessary to toleration and philosophy. Superior to vain alarms, terminate the session as you have begun it;—the shortest, but most glorious and acceptable to France which ever assembled; and, returning to your fire-sides, surrounded with the benedictions of the people, tell your constituents, "we have sown rewards, to gather virtues!"

I am therefore commissioned by the tribunate to communicate its voice of adoption in favour of the law which provides for instituting a LEGION OF HONOUR.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

ON

CHARLEMAGNE;

OR,

THE CHURCH DELIVERED:

A Poem, in twenty-four Books, by Lucien Buonaparte, Prince of Canino, Member of the French Institute, &c.

Although the above production, like many others of the modern school, which shall be nameless, has had a much greater tendency to excite than gratify public expectation, its analysis seems to constitute a necessary appendage to the foregoing Memoirs, as illustrative of Lucien Buonaparte's literary labours: we have therefore selected the account given of this production, by an English critical writer, who seems to have been fully

equal to the task, and very justly appreciated the Prince of Canino's claims to distinction in his poetical capacity.*

"Johnson has somewhere said, that all the literary attempts of a man of rank ought to be received with indulgence. If a mere preference of studious pursuits to the folly and idleness which rank and fortune often entail upon their possessor, should be deemed commendable enough to disarm criticism of its sting, and elicit applause from the severe, ought not still more encouragement to be shewn toward those who withdraw themselves from the bloody haunts of Ambition, and instead of cutting off their fellow-creatures from the face of the earth, and overwhelming with misery those who survive their loss, calmly associate with the votaries of the Muse, intent only upon adding to the general stock of harmless pleasures, and height-

* These extracts are taken from the Eclectic Review for September, 1815.

ening those intellectual gratifications which distinguish the happiness of man from the enjoyments of the brute creation?

"Whilst England is still weeping over the sanguinary honours of Waterloo, surely, in the eyes of the rational and humane, the veriest monk, self-buried in his cell, turning the valorous actions of every saint in his calendar into doggrel rhymes, the hunter after butterflies, the collector of shells, the enumerator of mosses, or even the shadowy philosopher who puts his estate into the crucible in the hope of replacing it with solid gold, appears undoubtedly an innocent and comparatively useful being, contrasted with those deluded wretches, who leave their quiet homes to prevent other nations from enjoying repose in their own way; who rush into the field of battle, to be hewn to pieces, to expire in neglect and torment, and with no other consolation than the thought of having inflicted upon others the same agonies which

suspend in themselves, even in the awful moment of departure to another world, every reflection but that of personal suffering.

"Were we to speak of Lucien Buonaparte's poem, warm from the impression excited by comparing the tranquil innocence of his employment in writing it, with the mischievous activity of his brother Napoleon, and some others little less mischievous, though less personally active, in our own country, we should be apt, misled by gratitude, to transfer our admiration of the author to his work, and to rank the battles of Charlemagne with the Lombards, or the missions of Elias to the Franks, above the wrath of Achilles against Greece, or the messages of Raphael to our first parents. But we have been too long in the habit of holding the balance of literary justice, to throw any fancies of our own into one scale, against the candour and impartiality we have always endeavoured to keep in the other.

"Threatened as the public is with ten thousand pages of English blank verse, to complete a poem of which a large quarto volume makes only a small part,* and tempted as it may feel itself by the sight of two volumes, of the same size, of French poetry, it becomes our duty to examine these gigantic productions, and ascertain to what more commodious size they would be likely to shrink, were the touchstone of merit applied to them, so as to proportion the expressions exactly to the ideas that might be found worthy of retaining a place in moral and epic poetry. Charlemagne is of the latter class, and embraces a portion of history, in itself little interesting to modern readers, and injudiciously dilated by adventures that have

* The critic most probably alludes to a distinguished member of the *Lake school*, who has not, however, put his threat into execution.—*Ed.*

about them, neither the romantic charm of fiction, nor the sober excellence of truth.

" It was all very well for the Greeks and the Romans, to represent Jupiter and Juno, who were continually quarrelling with each other, as taking part in the quarrels of men; but we cannot imagine a God of infinite mercy and perfect love, inflamed with wrath at the sight of the human sacrifices here imputed to the Druids, and yet looking with complacency upon Charlemagne, rushing sword in hand upon his conquered foes, waving the cross over the heads of women and infants, and giving them their choice of baptism or of death; all for the honour of a Saviour, to whose precepts he was at that moment acting in direct opposition:—a Saviour who forbade his disciples to take even staves with them, when they went forth to promulgate his doctrines, and who expressly said, " put up again thy sword into its place; for all they that take the

sword, shall perish with the sword." The doctrine of purgatory is brought in as an addition to the spiritual machinery of the piece; and the author declares it as his opinion, that the heathen mythology affords nothing so beautiful or so consolatory as this notion of a middle state, which he terms the chains of tender sympathy that still bind us to those who have gone before us to another world.

"The subject is not, however, treated so as to reconcile us to its defects. In his description of Hell, Canto IX. we look in vain for the calm dignity of Virgil, or the wilder sublimity of Dante; we find only a confused mixture of personages from sacred and fabulous history, and a group of fallen angels, who deport themselves with the brawling insolence of a parcel of turbulent mechanics in a jail, rather than with any remains of the elevation of their former state. The author, in a note on this part of the work,

objects to the dignity with which Tasso and Milton have enveloped Satan, even in his fall: no one can accuse him of giving way to any resemblance of the style which he condemns. The work would have been altogether better, for an entire omission of all the spiritual agency, and all the petty miracles, which occur so often, that we are almost inclined to think the author never read Horace's well known precept—

'Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus.'

"The characters are very faintly marked: even to the hero of the piece there is not a single speech or sentiment assigned, that distinguishes him from the Paladins that surround him; nor is there any thing to admire in his conduct, unless we go on Johnson's principle of liking 'a good hater,' and revere him for the furious zeal with which he attacks the Pagans. His moral virtues do not appear

in a very amiable light: he has put away his lawful wife to marry the daughter of the heretic Didier, king of Lombardy; and when sufficient time has elapsed to sate him of the beauty which seems to have been her only attraction, he, like some others of later days, begins to entertain scruples of conscience respecting the propriety of an union, which it may be reasonable to suppose he no longer found delightful. He then repudiates her, and takes his first wife out of a convent, whither we are to suppose she had retired before the commencement of the poem, and where she might as well have remained, for any advantage the reader receives from her introduction, as she makes her appearance no more during the work, while the enraged beauty goes herself into the field of battle, and feebly imitates the actions of a Camilla, a Bradimante, or a Britomart. Indeed, the great fault of the piece throughout, is, that it continually reminds

the reader of better things. We have Godfrey of Bouillon, and the mad Orlando; but we hear their names only to regret the total absence of all the attractions in which the glowing muse of Ariosto, and of Tasso, knew how to deck them. We have combats between obscure knights, related with all the minuteness which Homer bestows upon the place and manner of the death of his heroes: but with him it is different; an habitual reverence for his name, awakens an interest in all those for whom he seems interested, and we are ready to imagine all the good and great qualities for which those whom he celebrates might be renowned among their contemporaries: while, in these French and Lombards, we have neither the affinity of our own times, nor the venerable obscurity of past ages. No doubt, the author has sufficiently distinguished them in his own mind, and imbibed that individual partiality for them, which the long contemplation of a

favourite work will beget even toward its weakest engines; but to us they seem like the male characters in a pack of cards, differing only in name, but all equipped with the same furious whiskers and martial swagger. The sentiments and imagery are not in any respect striking: there is a great sameness in them; and it is somewhat remarkable, that a poem composed chiefly among the most exquisite beauties of nature, should not oftener exhibit a corresponding beauty of allusion and richness of description. There are several reflections on the fickleness of courts, and the emptiness of ambition, which must always please, in a certain degree, because they are always true, and as such the heart responds to them. It may be reasonably believed that, at the time they were written, their author felt their full force: he then rejected all the allurements held out to him by his brother in the zenith of his power, and had he continued to maintain the same

integrity of conduct, whatever we might think of him as a good poet, we should have felt very much inclined to dispute the matter with any one who should have denied him the praise of being in a certain sense a good man.

"The poem is dedicated to his holiness Pope Pius VII. whom the author takes an opportunity of mentioning again, with affection and gratitude, in the course of his work.* To this succeeds a statement of the historical facts on which it is founded, and a short dissertation on the use of supernatural machinery in what he denominates the Christian Epic.

"This long work the author states to have been commenced, ten years since, on the mountains of Tusculum, near Rome, whither he had retired after having quitted public affairs; to have been continued at Malta, and

* Canto 18, Stanza 3.

finished in this country, during what he terms his captivity.

"The poem opens, with the accustomed kind of invocation and view of the subject.

> Daughter of Heaven, O Muse, descend and sing
> The glorious exploits of the Christian king,
> The conqueror of himself, the paynim's rod,
> Who saved from impious rage the ark of God.

"It then proceeds to state the union of the Greeks and Lombards under the walls of Spolleto, their attack upon its church, and assassination of Wilfred, the bishop, during the performance of his devotions; the inhabitants in despair, flee to Rome, laden with images and relics, and take refuge in St. Peter's church: the sacred tapestries, the celebration of mass, and the scattering of ashes, with all the rest of the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance' of Catholicism, are well described; and Laurentia, the widowed

sister-in-law of Charles, is introduced, with her two sons, in a very interesting manner.

Silent she steps amid the passing train;
Her sons the consecrated lights sustain.
Bright robes of purple starred with lilies fair,
Long locks, with clasps adorned, their birth declare:
Worked on the shining tissue, as they trace
The unknown features of their father's face,
Each, though unconscious of the form he views,
Yet smiles with pleasure on its dazzling hues!
Laurentia sees, and rung with double woe,
'Neath the dark veil unseen her sorrows flow.

"Paradise is next described, in a sort of vision; and it is no way astonishing that our author should not succeed in giving interest to an assembly of saints and martyrs; a theme which even Klopstock's genius could not render inviting, and which Milton would not have attempted. It has, however, some pleasing passages, and, in the ensuing stanzas, there is considerable beauty, as well as liberality of feeling.

"The Second Canto introduces Armelia to us; and in it the author takes an opportunity to express his wish for the same good understanding to reign between England and France in the present day, as did in the time of his hero.

"The Third Canto consists entirely of hymns and spiritual revelations, and eulogies on monastic life.

Soon round the sacred dome a city grew:
Soon rose the palace in its ramparts new:
The pilgrim soon, the aged and the poor,
From worldly sorrow found a refuge sure:
A thousand warriors had of old been paid
By Drogon's wealth to bear the murderous blade;
Sudden these riches, to the poor consigned,
Rescued from woe a thousand of mankind:
Each breast towards him, the benefactor, glows
With tender awe: he only seeks repose.

Far from mankind, in study and repose,
Aided by Heaven, to lights, divine he rose.
Exalted truth and meditation knew
No shelter then, but what in deserts grew:

There the fair mask, which ignorance had worn,
Was ravished from her brow; and backwards borne
Through many an age of error's gloomy night,
Still the recluse would dart his piercing sight:
Departed times, that long had buried lain,
Sprung from the sepulchre to light again;
And, nursed with care, within the monk's abode
The torch of history, art, and science glowed.

"There is much truth in these observations, and it is to be wished that we could borrow from monastic institutions, at least the graces of their charities; for it is melancholy to reflect how inadequate are our poor-rates, how burthensome soever to the relief of individual misery, and how imperfectly organized must be our public institutions for the helpless and the aged, when even a life of hunger and houseless wandering, is preferred to taking refuge in them.

"The Fourth Canto opens, poetically enough, with the description of the visit of Charles to the tombs of his father and grandfather.

"The next contains Charles's parting with Armelia, and taking Adelinde back. The Sixth is filled with treasons, contests, and the death of Roland, who has come upon the stage for little purpose. The Seventh opens with a council of chiefs who are in confederacy against Charles, and on whom the forsaken Armelia calls to revenge her cause.

"The following passage presents a good simile in illustration of the junction of the confederate powers.

The torrent oft, that long through flowery plains
Has held its course, its early rage restrains,
Till one more fierce, whose waves with rapid gush
Pour from the mountains, to its bosom rush:
The slackened tide again new force has found;
Joining their billows, with impetuous bound,
The rival floods above their borders rise,
And in the hollow glens the swains surprize:
Wide o'er the fields with sweeping ravage flow,
And all the labourer's hopes at once o'erthrow.

"The Eighth Canto is insufferably tedious.

Treaties are described with all the minuteness of state etiquette, and in language little more poetical; knights and paladins, with their genealogy, fatigue attention, without awakening interest; and the reader is glad to be roused from the drowsy sensations which, page after page in this canto, seem only to increase, by an abrupt transition to Hell in the next."

In Canto IX. the Prince of Canino, following the example of his great predecessors, Homer and Virgil, pays a visit to the lower regions: this is a favourite journey with all epic poets, and which they generally fancy themselves called upon to undertake, *bongré malgré*. The author of Charlemagne has, it must be confessed, displayed a good deal of courage in having thus entered into competition with two such epic giants; but we are also obliged to confess, that the Prince has betrayed rather too great a share of confidence in his own powers.

If Camoëns has been reproached with having introduced the persons of the Trinity and pagan divinities into the same action, an equal degree of blame will attach to our poet, for having huddled together Cain, Romulus, Alexander the Great, Herod, Saul, Alaric, Attila, and Judas Iscariot. We perfectly agree with the Prince of Canino, that Anthony, Lepidus, and Octavius, who was afterwards deified under the name of Augustus, richly deserve the place he has assigned them. We can readily forgive the former President of the Council of Five Hundred, if his predilections are not much in favour of royalty: we are not, therefore, surprized at his consigning Romulus and Alexander to the bottomless pit; but he also sends a number of poor republicans there, which to us is somewhat extraordinary.

As already observed, Lucien's description of Hell occupies nearly all of the Ninth

Canto. Amongst others, the following lines possess a great deal of harmony:

Now o'er the world as spread the veil of night,
Lost were the beetling Appennines to sight;
The bell had sounded forth the hour of sleep,
And all the cloister lay in silence deep:
No foot the temple trod: a glimmering flame,
That through the ambient darkness feebly came,
Shot through the dusky aisles its quivering ray,
Where shrouded bones of many a martyr lay:
The golden lamp, with solitary gleam,
Still through the shade prolonged its dying beam.

There is also a harangue of Satan's in the same canto, the eloquence of which will not certainly become a model, while it makes that redoubtable hero appear much below himself when compared to the language put into his mouth by Milton: it should be observed, *en passant*, that at the period chosen for the action of Lucien's poem, Satan does not seem to have been on such good terms

with the people of France, as during the last twenty-five years, for he not only abuses them generally, but seems to have selected Charles Martel as an object of particular wrath. Lucien very properly says,

Wo to the Franks!—wo to that line, whose fame
Already boasts Martel's and Pepin's name!

And then adds in a strain of noble independence:

Too late he mourns the inhospitable door,
Rich for an instant, and for ever poor:
His gold, his palaces, his proud domains,
Soothe not the horrors of his present pains.
There the corrupt deserter of the laws,
The judge who sold the equitable cause;
He in whose balance wealth and power had weight,
In the dark realm his fraud shall expiate.
That righteous Judge, whose sentence none can buy,
That Judge has weighed his crime and destiny.

Traitors, ingrates, calumniators there,
And faithless priests who sell the sacred chair;

And sceptic wits, whose genius, like a curse,
Corrupts and cheats the darkened universe;
Adulterous, thieving, and incestuous bands,
And lawless foes of unoffending lands,
Proud, warlike kings, beneath whose fatal thrones
Each clime is blasted, and each nation groans,
And all their flatterers, and their poisoners fell,
Howl in one mass amid the fires of Hell!

It is extremely doubtful, whether the *Cirnéïde*, another epic, with which the Prince of Canino shortly intends to favour the public,* contains any allusion, so strikingly applicable to Napoleon and the times we live in, as the above. The word Cirnéïde is derived from *Cirnos*, one of the ancient names of Corsica.

Returning to the English critic's able analysis, he goes on to observe:

"The subject of the next canto is also of a diabolical sort. The Druids and Saxons are busy plotting and sacrificing, and the reader will again feel inclined to nod over his task.

* Though promised by Lucien himself, in a note prefixed to the Eighth Canto of Charlemagne, this poem has not appeared.—Ed.

"The asylum of Laurentia, in the court of Marsilius, with her infant sons, who are deprived of their inheritance by their uncle Charles, is well described.

"The Twelfth Canto is prosaic and dull, and finishes with a solemn oath of Charles to prop the Christian cause with his sword, a means of making converts, against which we once more enter our most solemn protest.

"'Courage, lads, I see land,' was the well-known exclamation of Diogenes, on espying the blank side of a tedious production: and it recurred to our recollection, with irresistible force, as we took up the second volume of this ponderous work.

"The second volume commences with the return of Charles from his attack upon the Saxons; the rebellion of Gaiffre of Aquitaine, and the obsequies of Roland, from whose funeral oration we shall present the following extract by Mr. Hodgson's part of the translation.

When thus the priest.. "How frail is human bliss!
"How brief the honours of a world like this!
"Roland the terror of th' embattled plain,
"Against whose sword war's ramparts rose in vain;
"Roland the pride of arms, the knightly flower,
"Whose countless labours, whose unequalled power,
"With fabulous renown have filled the earth,
"Falls in his prime! Where now his valorous worth,
"His conquering strength? the fame to Roland given,
"What is its weight before the king of heaven?

"Light as the scattered blossom of the heath,
"That summer chases with her evening breath,
"The phrensied passions, and the power of man
"And crested pride, that triumphs for a span,
"Before eternal Justice disappear!
"Let transitory glory's bright career
"Our dazzled eyes and daring hearts mislead...
"In the great balance it is dust indeed!
"Virtue alone in heaven receives the crown,
"DENIED TO EMPTY AND UNJUST RENOWN!"

"The Fourteenth Canto affords a picture of the miseries of war, which are always the

same, whether it be justifiable or unjustifiable, and of the nominal grounds on which it may be undertaken; and we would recommend our readers to think seriously upon these, amid the general exultations with which our late victories have inspired all but the widows, the fatherless, and the childless, whom they have made.

In Strasbourg's walls his host no refuge gains,
Free is the Rhine from her insulting chains;
Pity's last claim is silenced in my heart,
And stern revenge is now my only part;
Death shall devour the crowds, who dared advance
To these polluted boundaries of France:
Here shall their band its wretched fate fulfil;
Thus shall I execute the Almighty will...
No more, my friends! this barbarous nation spare,
Baptism or death, Irmensul's soldiers share.

"The Fifteenth Canto is entirely taken up with 'The last combat of Wittikind;' and the consolatory thought of our not having to take part in any more of his combats, enables us to

support the result of this with becoming fortitude, though it seems Europe is under considerable obligations to this gentleman, as being the founder of the present race of the Bourbons, and many other illustrious personages, some of whose descendants we have at this day the honour of pensioning.

"The Sixteenth Canto returns to the Druids, who are thus poetically described in Dr. Butler's translation.

Gliding like spectres from their dark recess,
To Ormez' side the white-robed Druids press,
Their long loose garments glimmer on the sight,
Now dimly viewed, now lost in dusky night.
Clearer anon in opening space they seem,
Shewn by the cold moon's melancholy beam.
Such are the phantom shapes at evening tide
Which fancy scatters o'er the mountain's side,
And marks their floating forms, their waving shrouds,
Sink in the vales, or mingle with the clouds.

"The Virgin then appears to Wittikind, and exhorts him to be baptized. The next canto

contains the camp of the Huns, and the engagement with them, and is the most spirited of any in the whole performance. The imagery is new, and the descriptions are vivid.

'Through the dark forest's shades tumultuous rise
The shock of shields, and loud approving cries.
They pass the troubled Rhine's impetuous tide,
They thread the tangled brakes on Fribourg's side;
And as the sun beneath the west declines,
They reach the wild Hercynia's waving pines:
There warlike Theudon's royal tent they found,
And ninefold rings of peopled cars around.
A camp that circled all the valley's space,
Where dwelt fierce Attila's unconquered race.

" The Eighteenth Canto opens with one of those digressions from the subject to the poet himself, which, however they may be deemed a violation of epic rules, always interest the reader, and awaken that sympathy in his feelings, which prepares the mind for a stricter attention to the subsequent thoughts of the author.

What storm has swept the lyre since late I sung,
Its notes disordered, and its chords unstrung?
No more, alas, my generous ardour glows!
Mid Tusculum's loved hills and soft repose;
There as I strayed, the classic scene around
Breathed inspiration from its hallowed ground.
There, seen at distance from the verdant head,
Rome's mighty walls in wide expanse were spread;
There, as the dawn first streaked the redd'ning skies,
I loved to muse, and watch the day-star rise:
Then on the sacred dome of Christ would gaze,
When first it glittered in the orient rays.

Prince, Pontiff, loved of heaven, O Clermont, say,
What filial duties shall thy cares repay?
Even on the shores that skirt the western main,
Still shall this heart its loyal faith maintain,
My precious freight confiding to the deep,
Children and wife, I left Frascati's steep,
And asked a short retreat, I sought no more,
But vainly sought it on a hostile shore.
Thence by refusal stern and harsh repelled,
O'er the wide wat'ry waste my course I held,
In sufferings oft, and oft, in perils cast,
Till Malta's port received our ships at last.

Here sad captivity's dull weight I find:
Nought pleases here, nought soothes my listless mind:
Nought here can bid my sickening heart rejoice,
Speak to my soul, or animate my voice.
Run to my knees, my children, cherished wife,
Come, softest charm and solace of my life:
One look from thee shall all my peace restore;
Where beams thy smile the desert is no more.
Hence restless memory, hence repinings vain—
On Afric's rock I seize my lyre again.

"In the next canto we have Rodmir and Armelia at the walls of Rome, much fighting, and some description of the ruins of Tusculum, over one of whose Counts, of whom we never heard before, Lucien mourns bitterly, and seems at last only to console himself in the hope that his poetry will gain the hero that renown of which envious oblivion hath hitherto deprived him.

"Next we have Charles on the banks of the Tiber, committing a vast deal of murder, and then raising the cross among heaps of slain, all for the love of God. The next

canto is still 'hubble bubble, toil and trouble,' and most persons will, while reading it, begin to be very anxious for peace on any terms. We have a truce in the Twenty-third Canto, which enables us to get on to the Twenty-fourth and last; and this, perhaps, because it is the last, appears more animated than its immediate predecessors. There is plot and counterplot, marching and counter-marching: at last Charles is wounded, and it would have gone hard with him had not assistance arrived at that timely moment from heaven. His wounds are invisibly healed; a monstrous shield is extended, by a monstrous angel, over the city of Rome; Cyrus, Constantine, and Charlemagne, appear on it in letters of fire; and a voice from heaven informs him that victory is for him: the panic-stricken pagans take to their heels, the pope advances to bless the king, and the king very properly ascribes the victory to a higher power than his own valour.

"We have now come to the conclusion of a task which we have endeavoured to discharge with impartiality; a task which has seemed tedious because it is long: and, for the same reason, censure may appear to predominate in our opinions, because it is more convenient to condemn dullness *en masse*, than to swell an article by the selection of beauties, which, though in so large a work they may not seem thickly scattered, yet occur so often as to lead us insensibly into very frequent quotation, and to regret that our limits will not allow us to quote yet more largely. A catholic will peruse the work with more pleasure than a protestant can receive from it, because what affects the one is revolting to the other; and if Lucien himself should be disposed to dispute this opinion, we will only ask him what gratification he would derive from a poem which should celebrate what we call the Reformation, with our Defender of the Faith for its hero; Martin Luther's nuptials

with a Nun by way of episode : the burning of Servetus for a picturesque incident, and the canonization of Bishop Latimer and Archbishop Cranmer to conclude the work."

Adhering to the principle of impartiality by which we have been invariably guided in the course of the preceding Memoirs, we should be deviating from that rule, by omitting to notice whatever has been published in praise of Lucien Buonaparte's literary labours. Besides a most elaborate and flattering critique contained in another English periodical publication, the British Review, which gives Charlemagne the distinguished credit of being "original, various and animated," the Morning Chronicle* published the following article on

* So says the French editor, and it is not for the English one to contradict him; as, if the article in question is amongst the number of *good things* attributed to this side of the water, and not to be found in the columns of the above widely circulated journal, the editor will perhaps, take the

this noble epic and "heroic poem," as it was also styled by another English critic.

"The historical events on which Charlemagne is founded, possess in themselves all that importance, which is suited to epic narration. Having succeeded in delivering Rome, attacked by the combined forces of the Iconoclastes (or breakers of images) the Greeks and Lombards, seconded in Spain by the Moors and Cantabrians, and by the Huns and Saxons in Germany, the descendant of Pepin terminated an enterprize, which considering the difficulties it presented, the danger and glory that resulted from its execution, may justly bear a comparison with the most extraordinary event, recorded in the annals of ancient or modern times. No subject could therefore be better adapted for poetry; and as these circumstances occurred during

trouble of setting his Parisian neighbour right, on a matter, which might bring the critical accuracy of his paper into a little disrepute.

the age of chivalry, when historical truths are allowed to be embellished with all the richness of poetical fiction, it has the additional advantage of exhibiting a multitude of topics, as extensive as they are varied; in consequence of the contentions having embraced a variety of nations, differing in manners and customs; while France, the Pyrenees, Alps, Italy, and the "eternal city," successively become the scene of action.

"Such is the plot on which the poem of Prince Lucien is founded. The author is said to have devoted ten years to its composition. From the ingenious manner in which the plan is conceived, the profundity and extent of research it required, as also the marked elegance of the style, one would suppose that this work had been Lucien's principal occupation during the above long period. The execution is perfectly consonant to the best classical models, and yet we find a degree of independent originality in the style, which

proves that the author's talents, though subjected to the rules of art, are not a slave to them. Rejecting the heroic measure generally adopted by the French poets together with all its dull monotony, he has chosen a form of stanza, which is infinitely more susceptible of that harmonious and varied cadence required in epic poetry. Without being tied down by the example of Boileau or Voltaire, he has adopted the mysteries of christianity which form the principal basis of his plan: thus preferring them to the improbable and marvellous absurdities of the heathen mythology. Prince Lucien, following the example of Dante and Milton, has also ventured to describe those unknown regions, which the imagination has placed beyond the grave; and in three distinct cantos, successively painted Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell. His descriptions of these celebrated regions, are as original as they are sublime; and though somewhat rapidly drawn, their

impression on the reader is not the less lively and permanent. The scenes in which supernatural agency is employed, although chosen in conformity to the precepts of Horace, are conceived in a manner altogether peculiar to himself. Not only in these passages, but throughout the whole conduct of the poem, there is a species of fearless independence, which is equally conspicuous, whether the poet treads in the steps of his predecessors, or takes a different path.

"The subject of Charlemagne comprehends the most memorable events in that hero's life, confined, however, within a period which has allowed the author to preserve the unities of action. Notwithstanding the successive gradation of the most remarkable events which follow each other, the different characters are developed with no less force than sagacity. Although the chief interest of the poem verges in the principal hero, it extends in a just proportion to the secondary personages. One of the most singular amongst the latter

is Armelia, the repudiated queen of Charlemagne; who, indignant at the inutility of her prayers and complaints, abjures christianity, and embraces paganism, with the most infernal rites, in the hope of gratifying a spirit of revenge, no less virulent, than that of Juno in the Æneid.

"Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo."

"This poem is full of magnificent descriptions, which are connected with each other by the most graceful and happy transitions imaginable; while some of them breathe exquisite pathos. The whole poem is indeed conducted with a rare talent for epic composition, and engrosses the reader's utmost attention from beginning to end. It concludes by a triumph the most honourable to humanity, that of magnanimity over personal ambition and political tyranny."[1]

Notwithstanding this panegyric of the Morning Chronicle, the critical writers and literati of France, who may be supposed to know something of their own language, persist in regarding Charlemagne as one of the most pre-eminently tedious and monotonous productions in the shape of an epic poem extant.

THE END.

ERRATUM.

Page 71, *for* terminated in 1815, *read* terminated in 1813.

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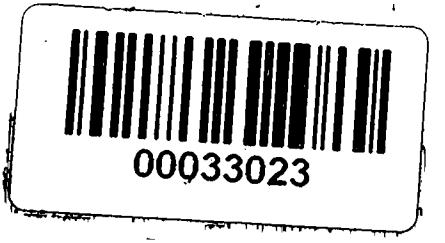
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